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Contents

A POST-WAR FAILURE - - - - -	Harvey Wish	227
ASCH AND WERFEL— <i>The Escape to Mysticism</i>	Jacob J. Weinstein	230
I TOO KNEW HIM WELL— <i>A Poem</i> - -	Selwyn S. Schwartz	234
GERMAN EDUCATION IN NEW WORLD ORDER - -	Alfred Werner	235
HAYEK AND THE REACTIONARIES - - - -	Irving H. Flamm	243
TO ONE CORRESPONDING— <i>A Poem</i> - -	Ruth E. Lancaster	246
A JEWISH-ARAB RAPPROCHEMENT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE	Mark Krug	247
TOMORROW— <i>A Wood Cut</i> - - - - -	Howard Simon	253
JEWISH MUSIC TODAY - - - - -	Leon Stein	254
EDUCATION ON LINCOLN STREET— <i>A Short Story</i> - -	Dolph Sharp	262
NEW YORK NOTES - - - - -	Vero	269
WASHINGTON NOTES - - - - -	Murray Frank	274
FROM ISAIAH— <i>A Wood Cut</i> - - - - -	Howard Simon	278
BOOK REVIEWS - - - - -		279-294
INDEX TO VOLUME 3 - - - - -		295

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A Post-War Failure

By HARVEY WISH

WARNING CONGRESS of a "rightist reaction," Roosevelt asserted in January, 1944, "Indeed . . . if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called 'normalcy' of the 1920's . . . then it is certain that even though we shall have conquered our enemies on the battlefields abroad, we shall have yielded to the spirit of Fascism here at home." As a high official in Wilson's regime, he recalled all too well the collapse of the brave new world for which the New Freedom had crusaded at the high tide of Progressivism. To avert a recurrence of such a catastrophe, Roosevelt called for "a second bill of rights"—this time economic guarantees. The political forces which defeated Henry Wallace in Chicago at the Democratic Convention of 1944 seemed to many liberal journals the vanguard of such a "rightist reaction" envisaged by the President, despite the acceptability of Harry S. Truman to the White House. The experiences of the 1920's offer an interesting perspective on the kind of postwar world that the 1945 apostles of business leadership in politics would give this nation.

Conservatives of 1918-1922 found an invaluable ally in their former Wilsonian opponents, those liberals who were badly frightened by the spectre of a missionary Communism sweeping over Europe. Herbert Hoover's food relief program on that continent was urged upon Congress on an ever-increasing scale as a weapon to combat Communist dictatorships by eliminating the popular mood of desperation. Wilson, himself, pleaded for the immediate ratification of the Treaty of Versailles as an alternative to disorder and Bolshe-

vism in Europe. He told an audience in Montana on September 11, 1919, "If you had been across the sea with me, you would know that the dread in the mind of every thoughtful man in Europe is that that distemper (Communism) will spread to their countries." In this spirit, he publicly congratulated Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts for his repression of the Boston Police Strike of 1919 (despite the legitimate grievances of the police) and rejoiced at that governor's further political successes. He allowed American military intervention in Soviet Russia even after the war had ended. Liberals like his Attorney-General, A. Mitchell Palmer, led the hysterical Red Hunt of that year. Other Wilsonians like John W. Davis (later the Democratic presidential nominee of 1924) and Justice James C. McReynolds of the Supreme Court, who had in prewar years fought the trusts and curbed economic individualism in the legislatures and the courts, moved toward the right; not a few of these surviving Wilsonian reformers in the election of 1936 clasped friendly hands with the ultraconservative Liberty League.

However, Wilson did not capitulate to the rising conservatism without a struggle. He protested the extreme form that the Red Hunt took and declared that economic justice rather than repression was the remedy for radicalism and the current labor upheaval. In October, 1918, he asked Congress for legislation to aid the returning veterans and facilitate demobilization. Congress was distrustful (as in previous months) of any postwar planning under the radical apostles of

the New Freedom and refused to take action. After the November, 1918, elections, when the conservative Republicans won control of Congress, the possibilities of White House leadership had declined to a minimum. Finally, Wilson's battle for the League of Nations and his paralytic stroke effectively ended the era of domestic reform. Even before Warren G. Harding entered the White House, conservatives had successfully launched their Open Shop drive to destroy the war-time gains of labor. Socialists were being denied their seats in Congress and the New York state legislature; immigration policies discriminated against Eastern Europeans and in favor of "Nordics;" and new high tariffs were raised against the competition of Europe in the current spirit of economic nationalism.

The fear of Sovietism, as in Mussolini's Italy, led to various nationalistic counter-movements. In this country, the American Legion among others campaigned for "one hundred per cent Americanism," which came to have an anti-union bias, often with scant regard for elementary civil liberties. The Ku Klux Klan, revived in 1915, added an anti-foreign, anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic campaign to its basic program of White Supremacy. In a similar spirit, Henry Ford's *Dear-born Independent* published a lengthy series of attacks on the international Jew"—later incorporated in the propaganda of Father Coughlin and the Nazis. Liberals, demoralized from within by the suspicion that reformism had opened the door to revolutionary nihilism, were divided and ineffective. Besides, skilful Communist propaganda, both here and abroad, tended to portray liberal philosophies as futile and out-moded, thus cooling the older missionary fervor of pre-war Progressivism.

Literature reflected this internal chaos. Hemingway, Dos Passos, and others of the "lost generation" broke with Wilsonian idealism and the Progressive crusade to lose themselves in the personal prob-

lems of the rootless individual. Sophisticates of the polished Smart Set and "dadaists" who affected the decadence of Oscar Wilde lured the intelligentsia to turn their backs upon democracy. Mr. H. L. Mencken and the *American Mercury* circle, revelling in the reports of the low intelligence tests scored by American soldiers, ridiculed the "boobus Americanus." Poetry, too frequently, forgot its prewar promise to lose itself in the sea of personal nostalgia. T. S. Eliot's magnificent poem, *The Waste Land* (1922), condemned the spiritual drought and sophisticated futility of his generation. Many shared the naturalistic mood of John Dos Passos' novel, *Manhattan Transfer*, which reduced urban life to motion without discoverable direction—as symbolized in the racing tempo of the New York metropolis.

Popular biology, such as that of Wiggam's *The Fruit of the Family Tree* stressed the superior heredity of the successful individual and minimized the possibilities for social control and democratic leadership. Here was another prop for the "natural aristocracy" of those who followed Nietzsche in deriding the "herd." Behaviorism in psychology reduced man to a bundle of mechanically-determined reflexes and conditioned responses. The popular cult of Freud lowered the prestige of man as a reasoning being in favor of subconscious motivations, particularly sexual impulses. Not a few were ready to believe with James Harvey Robinson, the historian, that "most of our so-called reasoning consists in finding arguments for going on believing as we already do." (*The Mind in the Making*, p. 41.) All this meant a form of anti-intellectualism in which the rationality of man became a myth and free-will a total illusion. Although there was a certain modicum of truth in many of these newer teachings, their enthusiastic proponents carried their implications to the most dangerous extremes. Wittingly or unwittingly these popularizers of science removed a vital

prop in the democratic faith—the reasoning potentials of man upon which majority rule and minority guarantees rest.

Foreign affairs reflected this anarchic trend in our retreat toward isolationism. We sought a cheap substitute for a League of Nations—security without personal risks. Instead of sanctions against aggressors, we adopted the anaemic Kellogg Pact to outlaw war based upon the force of public opinion alone. Even the World Court proved too much for the isolationists who defeated it. We participated in the isolation of Russia by refusing to recognize a going concern which Hoover declared to be an economic vacuum. In the Far East we agreed in 1922 to a system of naval disarmament which actually benefitted Japan, then anxious to concentrate on land armaments and to avoid an expensive naval race; most important, we withdrew from the western Pacific by agreeing not to fortify our possessions west of Hawaii. We shunned Europe—despite our huge public and private investments there—and berated our former Allies for not paying their debts to us; meanwhile we raised our tariffs and blocked the principal method by which our debtors could repay us.

These trends towards anti-intellectualism, extreme individualism, and diplomatic isolation actually antedated World War I, but were apparently accelerated by that conflict. Even if Wilson had secured his League in 1919, it is a fair assumption that this organization could not have survived in full force and vigor in this country any more than it did abroad. The hedonistic, anti-democratic philosophies of the 1920's would have been incompatible with the truly enlightened self-interest required by an

effective world organization, particularly as far as our assuming war risks is concerned. Foreign affairs, less than ever, cannot be divorced from domestic trends; and it is difficult to conceive of the generation of the 1920's responding with military sanctions to a critical situation which was not immediately upon our doorstep. Intellectual defeatism had done its work.

Some hope may be gleaned from the trends of the past decade. In our ideological efforts to combat the Nazi-Fascist onslaught, we have recovered certain of our fundamental beliefs in the importance and worth of man. The necessity of fighting two world wars in one generation has given greater impetus than ever to the realization that a League means that we accept possible risks of military involvement in order to preserve an international society which will reduce such risks. The obvious alternative to such cooperation—that of chaos and the destruction of Western Civilization—seems clearer to more people than ever—to judge from the Gallup Polls for example. The dangerously naive belief in automatic progress held in the Western World for so long in the past has led us to minimize the importance of a collective purpose in achieving the kind of international society that we desire. We shall have to pay a higher price for outlawing war than Americans of the 1920's were willing to offer. The United Nations have but too recently escaped from the threatened domination of the Axis dictators who knew the potentialities of concerted action for us to revert to optimistic irresponsibility. In 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt called for a "permanent and balanced national life;" today the challenge is on an international scale.

If humility is Christianity, you, O Jews! are the true Christians.

WILLIAM BLAKE, English poet and painter (1757-1827)

Asch and Werfel — The Escape to Mysticism

By JACOB J. WEINSTEIN

IT HAS NEVER BEEN EASY for man to face the unadulterated truth. He has required a poultice to buffer the raw impact of reality. You remember that when Perseus was in pursuit of the Medusa he was advised by his patron goddess to bear a shiny shield so that he could see the snake-haired head of the evil one through reflection. He was warned that he would turn to stone should he look upon the face of Medusa with the naked eye. Consider the fact of birth. Ponder the contrast of the birthing process as the midwife or the obstetrician sees it and as it is conveyed in our folklore, with the cherubs flying about the pink and blue satin bassinet. And if birth must be seen through pink and blue glasses, how much more must we veil the fact of death. Religion came into being to conquer man's fear of death. Man is the only animal with a fore-knowledge of death. This is the source of his profoundest tragedy and of his heroic nobility. Religion has often found it necessary to use sedatives in this difficult task—sometimes a very strong morphine injection like the belief in the Resurrection of the body, sometimes a milder barbitol like the belief in immortality. What distinguishes the quack from the honest religionist is the manner of administering the dose. The honest practitioner will see to it that it is not habit forming or debilitating.

Certain forms of escape are necessary sedatives for human beings who are bound to be hurt by life. Taken in moderate doses, they can release tensions and help keep the energy flow adequate to

our tasks. Taken in immoderate doses, they can be harmful—even fatal.

Now the mystical experience in religion is such an excess dose of sedative. For certain highly sensitive, exceedingly gifted, or disturbed personalities, it may be indicated. It may, indeed, be the vehicle for those ecstatic transports and supernal visions which provide us with the glowing insights that are the essence of all high poetry. For the average person, mysticism only breaks down the normal routines, muddles the reasoning faculties, and builds a psychological wall between him and his environment.

In advocating mysticism for all people as the more desirable pathway to truth and beauty and holiness, both Franz Werfel and Sholem Asch have, in my opinion, done mankind a disservice. Their advocacy constitutes a betrayal of reason, an abandonment of intellect, a lack of faith in the cooperative intelligence of society; in short, a failure of nerve. In the *Song of Bernadette* Werfel, combining in his exquisite fashion the arts of poet, philosopher, and historian, told the story of a little French girl who was driven to day-dreaming and wool gathering in order to tolerate the stark poverty and ugliness of her life. In her desperate hunger for beauty and companionship, she sees a beautiful lady in the mouth of a noisome cave and discovers an underground spring on the floor of this deserted grotto. So intense is her belief, so naively charming is she in clinging to it that, little by little, the community comes round to see the vision with her. In the course of time, the Catholic Church

also becomes persuaded. Bernadette Soubirous' discovery becomes the Grotto of Lourdes, a famous shrine whose waters are advertised to cure all manner of diseases. Thousands of crutches hanging from the walls of the Grotto testify to the saving powers of these sacramental waters. Bernadette is later canonized for having given the Church a modern miracle and suffering humanity a cure not found in the books of medicine. In the story itself, Werfel remains the novelist. He enters sympathetically into the heart and mind of Bernadette, but he seems to be equally sympathetic in reporting the objections of the scientific men who considered Bernadette a pious fraud. Making allowances for the poet's natural suspicion of the scientist and considering that this book was written in gratitude for his escape from the Nazis, one cannot rightly say that the book, in itself, marked a retreat from reason or a leap into the dark.

But when one reads *Embezzled Heaven* and his more recent series of essays *Between Heaven and Earth*, one realizes that Werfel is really embarked on a crusade to exalt mysticism as superior to reason and science. In these later books and essays he vigorously attacks the validity of scientific method. He believes it is a purposeless tracking down of insignificant minutiae. He accuses the scientists of our day of collaboration with the nihilistic naturalists, the economic determinists, the Communists and National Socialists. This conspiracy, he avers, has robbed humanity of heaven and has dulled the soul of man so that he cannot perceive truth—not the pedestrian truths of the slide rule and the laboratory but the great, profound, fourth-dimensional truths by which the spirit really enters into the heart of reality. Werfel even goes so far as to deny progress. He believes that the astrologers of ancient Sumer and Babylon had developed a real knowledge of the universe and knew the relation of the stars to man's fate. In abandoning this esoteric wisdom, modern scientists

overlooked a source of truth infinitely more profound than anything they have put in its place. Modern technology is, according to Werfel, the sheerest form of vulgar idolatry—great steel stairways to banality. Modern man, he claims, has been robbed of his heaven by science and of the intuitive wisdom of the soil and husbandry by technology. One Bernadette is worth a thousand Steinmetzes, Edisons, and Fords. While most religions have become servants of mammon, Catholicism, Werfel holds, still maintains a healthy priority for the mystical truths. He considers it the high mission of the Jew to help clear away some of the ugly compromises which the modern state has forced upon Catholicism and thus enable pure Catholic Christianity to redeem the world.

So, too, with Sholem Asch. After giving us a fine, sensitive, humane biography of Jesus of Nazareth, Asch followed with his *Paul, the Apostle*. In *The Nazarene* we detected a certain unwarranted harshness toward the Pharisees, the Jews who were loyal to the moral, legal, and social disciplines of the Torah. But we attributed this, too, to the inevitable antagonism between the highly individualistic artist and the more institution-minded rabbis. This unkindness to the Pharisees did not spoil his profoundly beautiful reconstruction of the life and teachings of Jesus in the framework of his nation and his times. But Asch was not content to stop here. He went on to the sequel with his *Paul, the Apostle*. He asks us to consider the two works as one. We were, at first, captivated by the immense scholarship displayed and by the remarkable feat of projection which enabled Asch to get into the very inside of Paul's mystical experiences. When he described the experience on the road to Damascus Asch made it clear that here was a very idealistic, very fanatical man in the midst of an ecstatic seizure—weaving his theology, his guilt complex, and his inordinate ambition into the purple aura of the pro-

dromal stage of epilepsy. James Leuba, in his able study of the mystical experience,¹ could give no better description of the peculiar interplay of heightened tension, dedicated zeal, and neurotic disturbance which often produces the vision of the mystic. But as we followed Asch we noted that he took the plunge into the dark with his character, that he not only believed in the superior truth of the mystic insight but had turned bitter and contemptuous toward the guardians of reason, the masters of the law, and the teachers of the discipline that derives from the law. He even followed Paul in his exaltation of death as superior to life and, in the final step, the denial of the reality of the power of evil. The horrible sinfulness of mankind cannot be countered, Asch maintains, by the forces of reason and education but by the magic of the vicarious atonement. When the good are willing to die sacrificially at the hands of the evil, power is automatically destroyed and the forces of righteousness inherit the world of the spirit which is the only real world. Fortunately for us, the average democratic citizen does not go to his death before the sadistic Caesars with a smile and a prayer of forgiveness ("They know not what they do!"). Fortunately for us, the Jews of Warsaw and the Marines at Tarawa do not believe that their deaths will subtly corrode the swords of the enemy. They believe that to turn the cheek to the enemy is to enable the enemy to destroy the very climate in which love and sacrifice have any meaning. The spiritual does not descend from the clouds—a divine intrusion—as it did to Paul on the road to Damascus or to Bernadette at Lourdes. It grows out of the experience and labors of men. If, therefore, man is destroyed the seed bed of the spirit is also destroyed. Asch, too, has been flirting with the Church and, while he denies that he has joined the Christian Church, he insists

¹ *The Psychology of Religious Mysticism*. Harcourt, Brace & Co. New York, 1925.

that Judaism will function best as a catalytic agent, precipitating the purity of Christianity out of its compromising alliances.²

These two writers have done humanity a disservice by their advocacy of mysticism as *the* one pathway to truth. They could have done a positive service by pointing out, as they had a right to point out, the inadequacy of reason to understand certain aspects of the emotions, the petty arrogance of science which claims that it knows all the answers, the moral baseness of scientists who permit their discoveries to be used for the debauching, impoverishing, and destruction of life rather than for its enhancement. Surely, we need critics, many able critics, to wield the scalpel of criticism on the brittle blueprints of the economic determinists and the soulless utopias of the naturalistic nihilists who think that life can be rationalized into a production unit of an assembly line. Surely, the men of science need the humility and the grace which such frank criticism might bring. But to deny the validity of the reasoning process, to go all overboard in this plunge into the mystic deeps, to deny the validity of time and the real distinction between good and evil in search for an overwhelming frenetic unity is to encourage that anarchy of the emotions which

² It is illuminating to compare Asch's treatment of Jesus and Paul with the two volumes on the same subjects by Professor Joseph Klausner of the Hebrew University. Asch, child of the Polish ghetto, writing in the language of the diaspora—Yiddish, reflects the servile assimilationism, the unconscious yielding to the dictates of the majority standards—the running after the multitude even to folly. Klausner, a vital force in the Hebrew Renaissance, the cultural counterpart of the rebuilding of the National home, writing in the language of the Bible—the real mother tongue of Israel, makes no such mean concessions. He pays every due tribute to the moral grandeur of Jesus and to the passionate evangelical skill of Paul but holds fast to his conviction that the less dramatic, more rational ethic of Rabbinic Judaism contains the elements for the greater healing of mankind.

is bound to destroy us all. Science is doing a pretty good job of destruction itself but, at least, it contains within itself the resources of healing. We must not lose our nerve because the job of humanizing science is a colossal one and the job of teaching a wounded humanity to take the long hard road of reason is even more difficult. It is pathetically perverse of Asch and Werfel to lend their persons and their high talents to buttress the defeatist and morbid emphasis of Christianity just when the vast world struggle is compelling Christianity, for sheer survival, to abandon its negative otherworldliness and to accept the Maccabean spirit of militant defiance to evil-doers.

History records many periods when humanity lost its nerve. Gilbert Murray³ records such a period between the end of classical Greek philosophy and the rise of Christianity:

The times are marked by a rise of asceticism, of mysticism, in a sense, of pessimism, a loss of self-confidence, of hope in this life and of faith in normal human effort, a despair of patient inquiry, a cry for infallible revelation, an indifference to the welfare of the state, a conversion of the soul to God. It is an atmosphere in which the aim of the good man is not so much to live justly, to help the society to which he belongs and to enjoy the esteem of his fellow creatures, but rather, by means of a burning faith, by contempt for the world and its standards, by ecstasy, suffering and martyrdom, to be granted pardon for his unspeakable unworthiness, his immeasurable sins. There is an intensifying of certain spiritual emotions, an increase of sensitiveness, a failure of nerve.

We note that these periods come after wars and economic dislocations when there seems to be little relation between what a man is and does and the reward he gets. We are probably going to face such a period immediately after this war. Millions will be too weary to think. Enemies of mankind, demagogues of every kind, will encourage all forms of escape—most especially into the death trap of fascism. It, therefore, comes with ill grace

³ *Five Stages of Greek Religion*. New York, 1925.

for two great writers, two real friends of man, to add the power of their brilliant pens to the forces of defeatism and despair. It is like leaving a pistol in the room of a man seized with a fit of despondency.

It gives the writer a certain satisfaction to note that both Werfel and Asch are flirting with fundamentalist Christianity. They know enough about Judaism to recognize that our faith will not sustain them in their flight from reality. Time and again when our people have lived in heartbreaking circumstances, mystics and false Messiahs would rise to offer us the leap into the dark, the waters of Nepenthe, the illusion of forgetfulness in the bosom of a god that was beyond the world of reality. Time and again the guardians of our faith, the stiff-necked, hard-headed rabbis and their disciplined lay followers have turned away from this cup of salvation. They preferred to see vast numbers of our people go over to more mystical cults, they preferred to weather the dangers of dry-as-dust rationalism and legalism—but they remained true to their conviction that reason is heaven's most precious gift, that if we only learn to use it effectively it will lead us to the perfection of life, which is God.

Our model is not Paul or Bernadette but Job who, in the midst of his afflictions, cried out, "I will hold fast to my integrity . . . Even though He slay me yet will I trust in Him." Job admitted that he did not understand all the mysteries of life and he was humble in the face of his ignorance. But he did understand some things—that man can pursue good, that man can attain happiness, that man has the will and the power to choose between good and evil. While remaining reverent in the presence of the mysteries he did not comprehend, he had faith that in time these things, too, would be revealed unto him. In the meanwhile, it was for him to rise from the dunghill of his defeats, the ashes of his disillusion, and, in faith in God and man, to live by

the light of his reason. He was richly rewarded for his faith. So, too, will we if we hold fast to our integrity—go as far as reason will take us and then wait patiently and work untiringly for new light to lead us farther on the way.

Even if we cannot see the impress of God behind the roll of events, the friend behind phenomena; even if we cannot be sure that the natural world is especially mindful of man's needs and man's permanence, we can still be loyal to the ideals which man, himself, has launched on the stream of time. Bertrand Russell, as sensitive to man's plight as are Werfel and Asch, as critical of the salvation promises of pure science and much more critical of the traditional religions, could nevertheless hold out to us the noble counsel of "A Free Man's Worship":

Brief and powerless is Man's life; on him and all his race the slow, sure doom falls pitiless and dark. Blind to good and evil, reckless of destruction, omnipotent matter rolls on its relentless way; for Man, condemned today to lose his dearest, tomorrow himself to pass through the gate of darkness, it remains only to cherish, ere yet the blow falls, the lofty thoughts that enable his little day; disdaining the coward terrors of the slave of Fate, to worship at the shrine that his own hands have built; undismayed by the empire of chance, to preserve a mind free from the wanton tyranny that rules his outward life; proudly defiant of the irresistible forces that tolerate, for a moment, his knowledge and his condemnation, to sustain alone, a weary but unyielding Atlas, the world that his own ideals have fashioned despite the trampling march of unconscious power.

I TOO KNEW HIM WELL

By SELWYN S. SCHWARTZ

I too knew him well, struck not by authority.
Sleep on, oh life, perhaps dream is yet to come.
There is nothing to fear except fear itself—
Death being once more the original sin.

No wonder the wind cries its single theme,
Names the miles of dreaded darkness:
Yet the native spring in its ripened certitude
Pervades God's acre of altered seasons.

At sunset, the harvest is a given name.
I too knew him well, struck not by authority:
Time calls us by one name—memento mori—
The West, perforce, a gas chamber.

The lesson survives. No need for time table now.
The rain has deepened the hour within me:
And in all the psalms the age of my personalized tomb—
Oh Moses of my time.

German Education in the New World Order

By ALFRED WERNER

ON APRIL 10 Raymond Daniell cabled a very interesting report on the situation of the German educational system from Marburg, Germany, to his paper, *The New York Times*. It was pessimistic, but, what is more important, most realistic, calling a spade a spade. His dispatch read, in part, as follows:

A study of German text books and interviews with school teachers by unofficial observers as well as American occupation authorities indicates that the Nazification of Germany's educational system in twelve years has been complete. Many authorities on Germany believe that before any progress can be made toward the re-education of the German people the whole school system must be re-organized, with new teachers, new text books and a new approach to the whole problem of education.

The people on the spot who can observe the scene at close range, know what they are talking about. On this side of the Atlantic, some political leaders and educators are less far-sighted and sober, as Mr. Daniell seems to be. I have heard otherwise well-informed people in this country assert that the task of re-educating Germany could not be so terribly difficult, since the Reich could avail itself of the pre-1933 teachers and pre-1933 text books, shelved after the Nazis had come to power. For the benefit of these people I wish to tell a story which may shed new light on the school system in the German lands—Austria as well as Germany—long before the victory of Hitlerism. Incidentally, the story happens to be true.

In the year of the abortive Hitler putsch of Munich, in a *gymnasium* (high school) in Vienna, a black-haired, black-eyed boy delivered a short speech before

the class. The topic, *Die Schmach des Versailler Diktats* (The Shame of the Versailles Dictate) had been chosen by the teacher who seemed highly pleased with the pupil's efforts. For the innocent youngster simply repeated, in his own words, what he had been taught by the history teacher: that the war of 1914-18 had been caused, not by Germany, but by the greedy Entente Powers who envied the Reich's cultural and economic rise; that the Germans had not lost the war, in a military sense, but had been knifed in the back by the "inner foe;" that Germany had been "raped" at Versailles and that, therefore, all good Germans would have to dedicate their lives to one goal—the breaking of the chains forged at Versailles and the restoration of Germany to its ancient glory. It goes without saying that, in the boy's opinion, Austria would have to be part of this future Reich.

In the fifth year of the Austrian republic, a teacher, paid by this republic, could, without any interference, poison the minds of his pupils with anti-democratic, anti-republican, anti-Austrian doctrines—even a Jewish child like me who stemmed from a family with outspoken liberal traditions. But for our history teacher liberalism, pacifism, international cooperation were considered part and parcel of Marxism which, in his words, was "criminal" (though he received his salary from the administration of Vienna which, in those days, was predominantly in the hands of the Social Democrats!) Since he was married to a woman of not exactly "Aryan" descent, he did not include the Jews in the category of "inner

foe," not all Jews at least. His colleague, the German teacher, however, never failed to make caustic anti-Semitic remarks whenever he had occasion to refer to Heine, Boerne, Wassermann, and other "artfremde" (alien) authors.

It is hard to imagine American teachers celebrating Lincoln's or Washington's birthday, Memorial Day, or Independence Day in a classroom by sneering at the founders of the United States, abusing democracy and praising George III of England and the British Generals Burgoyne, Howe, and Clinton. But something of that kind used to happen at my own school in Vienna on November 12, the Day of the Republic. The speaker who had to address the assembled youth, usually one of the most reactionary members of the teachers' staff, used the occasion to sneer at the republic in a sly indirect way, and to forecast the coming of a united large strong Germany (including, of course, Austria) in a more direct manner. Once some outraged parents, with the assistance of the few liberal teachers, protested to the authorities of the city against this outrage. On the 12th of November to follow, a teacher with liberal leanings entered the platform; but his lot was not enviable: while he praised the glory of democracy and the social and cultural achievements of the young Austrian republic the audience, guided by the colleagues of the speaker, suddenly got terrible coughing fits; moreover, before the speaker had delivered half of his address, the fire bell was rung—by sheer mistake, of course!

There were, in Vienna, a few elementary as well as secondary schools which were directed in a more progressive vein. But in the provinces of Austria, the schools were the centers of all sorts of reaction, from Clerical Fascism to Heimwehr-Fascism and Nazism. In the German Republic, the situation was even worse, for there anti-democratic chauvinism and militarism were much more deeply rooted in the populace. It is true that the

Republican Constitution of Germany, drafted by the democrat, Hugo Preuss (a Jew), and adopted by the National Assembly of Weimar in 1919, contained the lofty paragraph 148 which urged educators to uphold the spirit of the reconciliation of all nations and to avoid teaching any doctrine that might hurt the feelings of any person. But the so-called Weimar Coalition—the very tame and conservative Majority Social Democrats, the Clerical Centrists and the bourgeois—liberal Democrats—failed to see to it that this paragraph 148 was put into practice. In fact, such teachers or pupils as were loyal to the republic, felt like a persecuted minority at most of Germany's schools. Typical of the spirit that prevailed, especially in the schools of the smaller cities, is an incident that took place at Goslar, in the province of Hanover, on Constitution Day, August 11, of 1929: High school boys tore down, trampled, and spat upon the black-red-and gold flag of the Weimar Republic which decorated the school building. The teachers did not show any sign of disapproval, nor did a governmental investigation yield any results. Imagine American high school boys desecrating the Stars and Stripes on Independence Day, with the approval of their teachers!

In 1918 the Kaiser went, but the generals remained. The men who had taught under the Kaiser also remained in their positions, even if they merely paid lip service to the new regime. The Weimar Republic made some faint efforts to integrate democracy and education—but the ways of democratic government and of democratic life cannot be learned overnight. The educational ideal of the makers of the Constitution of 1919 was a lofty one, but you cannot rear a "free personality with the right to freedom of opinion and expression" with teachers accustomed to turn out Kaiser-serving chauvinist creatures and old text books glorifying the Hohenzollerns and what this dynasty stood for. To a slightly lesser degree, the

same was true of the Austrian republic, with some modifications.

Particularly disastrous for the new republic were the conditions in its secondary schools, which, despite the efforts of such energetic reformers as Konrad Haenisch, Prussian Minister of Education, and the democratic Freie Lehrergewerkschaft (Free Trade Union of Teachers), with few exceptions resisted all attempts at reform. "Who has the youth has the future!" Herr Goebbels used to shout, in the hey-day of Hitlerism, boasting of the possession of Germany's youth. By losing the youth between 10 and 18 years that attended the various types of "Hochere Schulen" (Gymnasium, Realgymnasium, Lyzeum etc.) to the reactionary parties, the Weimar Republic lost several million voters who eventually elected Hugenberg and Hitler. Although in the Republic only every ninth or tenth child could afford to attend a secondary school, this was the stock which furnished the Reich with its politicians, lawyers, physicians, educators, and big businessmen. The various types of secondary schools for boys and girls were the domain of the upper and middle class youth, since a special examination was used (not always an impartial one) to select the entrants to those schools, and a tuition fee was required; although the children of proletarians could obtain scholarships, the majority of them attended "Volksschulen" (elementary schools) only, where education was concluded at the age of fourteen.

Typical of the spirit that prevailed in the German schools were the gray, monotonous classrooms, filled with many rows of long, uncomfortable, straight-backed benches. Needless to say, there existed some excellent schools, like the radical Gemeinschaftsschulen, in newly built fine houses, with progressive teachers, adopting the *dernier cri* of educational philosophy. But in bankrupt post-war Germany the budget at first did not permit the building of new sanitary

pleasant-looking school houses nor even the replacement of the obsolete furniture. Later on, when the economic situation of the Reich improved, the sums that could be spared were used for the secret rearmament (the so-called Black Reichswehr) rather than for educational purposes.

Even in the prison-like school houses of Weimar Germany sincere democrats if, at the same time, they were efficient pedagogues, could have reared a generation of peace-loving ardent republicans. But there were not many of them. A large percentage of them were like the Doctor Berd Vogelsang in Feuchtwanger's novel, *The Oppermanns*. Describing the "bombastic German, the ranting, mass meeting oratory" of Doctor Vogelsang, Feuchtwanger continues: "If only the chap were nothing more than an opportunist. The worst of it was that he sincerely believed the gibberish he was talking. Due to an inferiority complex, he had encased himself in an armour of the cheapest nationalism, through which not a ray of commonsense could penetrate." Most teachers in Germany were even worse, for they were cynical opportunists, and only a small fraction were true liberals like the Rector Francois in the above mentioned novel who despairingly quotes Goethe: "There is nothing the rabble fear more than intelligence. If they understood what is truly terrifying, they would fear ignorance," and who laments: "The Republic is weak. The Republic always eats humble pie. It leaves one to the mercy of the bellowing herd."

Quite frequently the teacher was a real tyrant—like Professor Unrat in Heinrich Mann's novel, recently translated into English—who demanded from his pupils first of all "Ruhe und Ordnung," acquiescence and discipline, the proverbial duties of a subject of the Hohenzollerns. He boycotted the government's efforts to introduce pupil self-government (Schulgemeinde) by decrees into the school. His school room was his castle, the procedure

he followed in instruction entirely his own affair, and the infrequent visits of supervisors merely a matter of form. The children were demanded to spring stiffly to attention when anyone of the staff would enter or leave the school room—occasionally they would jump up by mistake when the janitor appeared at the door. In the schools of the republic the boys and girls acquired that servile spirit that made them later on accept without any rebellion the tyranny of one man—Hitler.

American children would heartily dislike this way of rigid discipline and of harsh treatment. The late Justice Louis D. Brandeis as a boy was sent by his parents to a school in Dresden, Germany. One evening he forgot the key of his room. On his return to the dormitory he whistled to awake his room-mate. In the morning he was severely disciplined. Thereupon he informed his parents that he had enough of German "Kultur." "This made me sick," he wrote many years later. "In Kentucky you could whistle." But it was not the aim of German secondary schools to produce people who would think and behave in a natural, frank manner. On the contrary, it was their goal, in accordance with Kaiser Wilhelm II's demand, "to furnish ME with material with which I can work within the State . . . A teacher should do what is demanded of him; he should teach the young and prepare them for resisting all revolutionary aims."

Written in this spirit were the text books of the German Empire. In 1920 the Weimar Republic forbade their use by a decree. Yet the schools continued to use them, since few new text books were available, as did many reactionary teachers even when new books could be had—the old books, after all, were not poisoned with the "destructive virus of liberalism and Marxism." Unfortunately, the evil men had a convincing excuse: the new school books were scarce. The paper shortage, the enormous

cost of printing, and the lack of time for the preparation of new manuscripts made it difficult for the government of the German Federal States to supply their schools with sufficient quantities of teaching material. Nevertheless, sabotage made the most of that misfortune. As late as 1926 when new books were to be had in sufficient numbers, the Prussian Minister of Education was forced to forbid, *expressis verbis*, the use of all text books that he had not okayed. Yet as late as 1930 I have seen in a German school history text books issued in—1916! Noticing my surprise, the teacher explained to me that they were "good enough" if only certain passages praising the Hohenzollerns were skipped (but looking at him, I wasn't sure whether he himself did skip them . . .) A German whom I tutored told me that their teacher purposely used a text book of physics written around 1900 because at least it did not refer, like more recent text books, to "that swine Einstein."

The aforementioned Konrad Haenisch was succeeded by an outright reactionary, by the name of Boelitz. In a speech, made at Potsdam in 1921, Herr Boelitz had declared: "The (German) state of the future will have to be founded on the firm basis of the Imperial Idea (Kaiseridee) . . . Minister Haenisch won't succeed in the elimination from the text books of all connections with the past, and though he ordered the removal of all connections with the past, and though he ordered the removal of all Hohenzollern pictures from the books, he will never be able to eradicate the memories of the great men of this dynasty from our hearts . . . The old spirit of Prussia, the spirit of Potsdam must and will return." As late as 1921 the city administration of Berlin had to demand vigorously that in a much-used text book the sentence "Wir lieben unsern Kaiser" (We love our Emperor) should be covered. About the same time a school supervisor of Graz, capital of the Austrian Federal State of Styria, had the nerve to protest in the city parliament

against the elimination of the pictures of Emperor Francis Joseph I from the books!

It must be admitted, for fairness' sake, that far from all German educators were satisfied with this state of affairs. But the endeavors of the Freie Lehrergewerkschaft which demanded a thorough reshuffling of the educational system, of such progressive educators as Fritz Wuessing and Siegfried Kawerau who created model text books for the republic, were largely in vain. All attempts to democratize and republicanize the German schools were decryd by the spokesmen of the church hierarchy, big industry, and the Junker caste as "Politik in der Schule," the introduction of party politics into schools. With the catch-word "party politics" they succeeded in frightening the average parent, Herr Schmidt or Frau Mueller, making them believe that the very preaching of social justice and republicanism was tantamount to Bolshevism. In 1921 a member of the Berliner Lehrerkammer (Berlin Association of Teachers) had the nerve to protest against what he called "die parteipolitische Beeinflussung der Jugend im Sinne der Republik" (the political influencing of youth in the spirit of the republic). Such new text books as painted a true picture of life and endeavored to discuss the problems of modern society frankly, were charged by the reactionaries with "einseitige Hervorhebung des sozialen Lebens, der Schattenseiten des menschlichen Lebens" (the biased emphasis on social life, on the dark aspects of human life).

The reactionaries who branded everything that was not to their liking as "Politik in der Schule" did not, however, object to items inspired by chauvinist pan-Germanism. One of the most atrocious documents of the war-breeding spirit was a poem by Boerries von Muenchhausen—he died last spring—warmly recommended for inclusion in the Weimar Republic's text books by the *Deutsche*

Zeitung. One stanza, swearing revenge for the Versailles Treaty and predicting a German counter-attack and a new peace treaty, dictated by Germany, runs as follows:

Wir alle, wir alle, wir alle schwuern
Einen heiligen Schwur, und Gott soll ihn hoeren:
Wie's Vaterunser ins Herz wir schmieden
Wort fuer Wort den Versailler Frieden,
Damit wir an jenem Tag aller Tage,
An dem wir ausholen zum Gegenschlage
Woertlich Silbe fuer Silbe nennen,
Und diesen Frieden—diktieren koennen.

In short, the text books issued between 1918 and 1933 were—with a few notable exceptions—republican only insofar as they unhappily acknowledged the fact that Germany was a republic. This was all the pupils were permitted to know. For this "concession" the Social Democrats had swallowed all aggressive nationalism which the rightist parties imposed upon them, in obvious violation of paragraph 148.

Particularly wicked, in this respect, were the history text books. It goes without saying that the latter pictured the Germans as a nation far, far superior to any other nation. In his *Denkschrift ueber die deutschen Geschichtseuebuecher*, Siegfried Kawerau scornfully listed scores of passages that read like excerpts from the *Nazi Primer*, that emetic document of a later era. In these history text books, issued with the "imprimatur" of the Republic, which credulous Americans may intend to use for the schools of the Fourth Reich, the Frenchmen are called vain, degenerate, superficial and chauvinistic; the British are painted as ruthless, brutal, jingoist usurers; the Americans don't fare much better. The outstanding features of the Russians are supposed to be their "Asiatic roughness and brutality." About the modern Russians one of the books says that politically, the average Russian is immature, indifferent, and entirely a tool of the leading cliques. Needless to say, Socialism and Marxism were treated briefly only and the pupils received only distortions of these doc-

trines; Bolshevism was tantamount to devilism. We should remember that the authors of these books were teachers themselves, mostly well-educated men with excellent scholarly standards. People familiar with this type of educators may wonder whether Macaulay was not right when he asserted that the Germans combined "high intellectuality with low morality."

When the Nazis came to power, they were in a much better position as far as the educational problem was concerned than the republicans of 1918. A large number of teachers had been National Socialist party members long before 1933, and an even larger number held strongly nationalist, anti-Marxist views. Nevertheless, there was a big purge in the spring of 1933: as early as April 7 committees of politically reliable persons, i.e. Nazi diehards were appointed to examine the records of all members of the educational service. Those who were "racially" undesirable were retired, also those who had been active in non-nationalist parties and finally those who were "encrusted with all the prejudices of yesterday's pedagogic principles," i.e. who, in all likelihood, would try to resist the teaching of such doctrines as those of "race and soil," "blood and soil," "heroic interpretation of life" or the "leader principle."

The Nazis were "gruendlich," more so than the men of Weimar. Prospective teachers were required to submit, above all, a detailed evidence of their "Aryan" origin, and a record of service in militant political organization and in voluntary service. Before their appointment as teachers, candidates were urged to spend at least six months in the Freie Arbeitsdienst ("voluntary" labor service).

All male teachers, "educated" in the Nazi spirit in the Nazi Hochschulen fuer Lehrerbildung, replacing the old Akademien, were required to join the Storm Troops and wear uniforms at school, while female teachers had to serve in the para-military women's organizations. In

this respect, no distinction was made between elementary, secondary, or university teachers. The official aim was the "soldierly teacher" and the function of education was "to create a Nazi," to use the words of the erstwhile Nazi minister of education, Bernhard Rust, a former high school teacher who had been retired by the Republic on account of his temporary mental illness, not because of his anti-republican views. The general slogan was given by *Mein Kampf*: "Education in a general way is to be the preparation for the later army service . . . the development of mental capacity is only of secondary importance." Or, as Hans Schwamm, erstwhile Bavarian Minister of Education expressed it, more bluntly: "Without military will a German school is impossible. A pacifist teacher is a clown or a criminal. He must be exterminated." There is, by the way, nothing new in this trend. "Turvater" Jahn, who lived under King Friedrich III of Prussia, emphasized physical education with the avowed aim of preparing the country for the merciless struggle against the "hereditary enemy" (France). During the first World War, patriotic high school teachers urged their pupils, many of them in the fifth grade only, to enlist in specially formed pupils' battalions: "Man ruehmt sich noch, dass die Lehrer mit halber List sie dazu bekommen haben" (it is even stated with pride that the teachers half forced them to do so by ruse), as the Social Democratic *Vorwaerts* remarked, indignantly, in the issue of March 18, 1916. Thousands of German kids were mowed down at Langemarck, Belgium, jubilantly singing "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles!"

As was to be expected, the Nazis systematically discarded all textbooks produced under the Republic, even those written in a spirit of super-heated nationalism akin to that of Nazism. As early as August 1, 1933, Dr. Frick, Minister of the interior, had already worked out detailed instructions relating to the

text books to be used in the Nazi schools: the race idea was to be the magnetic point around which the other subjects would have to group themselves. The Nazi ideas on education, however, were nowhere stated more frankly than in the *National-sozialistische Bibliographie* (June, 1938), where a certain Dr. Gerhart Krueger declared:

What the new generation of our people will be like, from the political viewpoint, will depend . . . largely on the work done by the school . . . The text book is . . . in National Socialist Germany a means of political education of the first rank . . . A text book is no place for discussion or experiment . . . it has, rather, to present a well-balanced weltanschauung, a product of the National Socialist world . . . under no circumstances should it be permitted to become the playground of opinions which, while claiming to be scientific, are discolored by politics.

What I said with particular reference to the German secondary schools is equally true of the other types of schools, from kindergarden to university. I am happy to gather from the new item, reprinted in the beginning of this article, and from other sources, that there is no danger that the Allies will permit the Nazi teachers to continue their work, regarding education to be a purely "internal" affair of Germany, as had been done by the Allies in 1918. At that time the far-sighted Professor Vernon L. Kellogg wrote warningly in his book, *Germany in the War and After*:

There are still 60 million Germans in Germany, a human group of great potentiality. All they need is the proper education, the kind of environment that the world has come to understand as the best for right influence on human evolution. Instead of carrying their old type of social organization and political attitude to all the rest of the world and imposing it on the rest of the world, they have now for their own sake and the sake of human progress to accept another type.

In addition to 6-7 million Austrians, there may be about 70 million Germans who will survive this war. But I am not concerned about the adults, for they cannot be changed considerably by means of education. I am worried about the fif-

teen to twenty million German boys and girls in the teen-age group, who are now in what is commonly called their "formative years." There are pessimistic observers—and I happen to be one of them—who fear that as the adult Nazis of yesterday chastised mankind with whips, their children may, one day, chastise the world with scorpions—unless something is done by us to avert the catastrophe in time.

The problem can again be boiled down to two points: text books and teachers. As for the former, it is doubtful whether it was wise of the Allies to believe that the Republic's text books could and should be used without any fundamental change, as seems to be the case according to a news-item of April 12: "A set of seven pre-1933 German text books found in Teachers College, Columbia University, is being reproduced so the non-political education of German children in the first to fourth grades can begin." There is no indication that these books had been cleansed thoroughly of the "Deutschland ueber alles" spirit, prevalent in German schools long before 1933. On the other hand, I do not fully agree with the experiment of producing German text books in New York by exiled German scholars, which is now in full swing. Even democratic anti-Nazi Germans in the Reich will not be too fond of the idea of receiving text books fabricated in what, after all, was enemy country. Reparations can be imposed upon a defeated people, but education, forced upon it, will defeat its purpose. A compromise could be reached, I think, if the manuscripts were worked out in collaboration with whatever leaders of the German underground may turn up, and with non-fascist educators who hid in Germany or who survived prisons and concentration camps. Thus, the Germans would not have to consider these books as foreign products, and the better Germans would accept them more or less in the same way as they are likely to prefer their

own men to be burgomasters, if under strict Allied supervision.

This has nothing to do with pampering the Germans. But we have to be realists. This is equally true in the case of the teachers. The obvious solution would be: Re-instate the teachers that were dismissed by the Nazis. But only a fraction of them will be available. Some who have gone abroad were received with great honors—they are not likely to return to a country that banished them. Others have died or have been murdered or crippled by the Nazis. Others may be ardent anti-Nazis without being liberals themselves—people who simply disliked the Nazi brand of reaction. There will, of course, be a number of opportunists who now protest that they were never real Nazis but camouflaged Liberals or Reds, so called "beefsteaks" (brown on the outside, but red on the inside). It is doubtful whether the new government should risk employing these turncoats. The entire problem can be summed up in the words of a pamphlet, *The Next Germany*, recently issued by a group of anti-Nazi Germans in London. It states, among other things:

There is no more urgent task than immediately to rescue the younger generation from most of its present educators and 'leaders.' Indeed, in the beginning it would be better to restrict education to a considerable extent than to allow it to carry on with its present personnel . . . We must say this with emphasis: any compromise with the present body of Nazi teachers would destroy any possibility of a genuine re-education . . . No kind of exception can be allowed for teachers because the potential influence of a Nazi teacher is far more dangerous than that of a minor Nazi civil servant. The Nazis have always been specially concerned to mold the young, and therefore the teachers have been carefully and systematically selected and trained.

The main concern of the educators in post-war Germany is and will be, of course, the rearing of children and adolescents. While the required number of elementary and secondary school teachers is far greater than that of university teachers, fortunately they may be more

easily obtained than the highly specialized professors. As for the latter, if only a fourth of the necessary number of professors should be available—well, then three-quarters of the German universities will be closed and only the most important ones, such as those of Berlin, Munich, Leipzig, Bonn, and Cologne will be re-opened. And if there should be an immediate lack of elementary and secondary school teachers, why should not the university and college professors be drafted to re-educate those who need education most rather than to lecture to young men and women over 18 who will have more urgent duties to fulfil than continuing their higher education? Later on, when at least some of the wounds inflicted upon the world by this war have been healed, more universities and other institutions of higher learning might be re-opened in Germany, preferably with foreign advisers helping to make these places more democratic, and a constant international exchange of professors and students might help to elevate the German centers of learning from a narrow chauvinism to citizenship of the world.

But it is, perhaps, too early to talk of these things now. It may take a whole generation to repair the most obvious damage done to the world by the Nazis, and an equally long period to turn the German schools from breeding-grounds of hatred into institutions serving mankind regardless of color, race, or creed. In any event, the leaders of the United Nations will do well to heed the warning words recently issued by that noted British educator, E. R. Dodds, in his pamphlet, *Minds in the Making*:

"Among the lessons of the last twenty years none emerges more clearly than the need not only for educational but for a new positive orientation of teaching everywhere—a conversion of the spiritual eyes of Europe—as a *conditio sine qua non* of European security and of any stable international order in the world after the war."

Hayek and the Reactionaries

By IRVING H. FLAMM

FRIEDRICH HAYEK's *The Road To Serfdom* hardly justifies the wide publicity given it. The book recalled to me a similar promotional campaign, some five years ago, for Carl Snyder's *Capitalism The Creator*. On reading Hayek's book, I somehow got the feeling that I was watching a revival performance of an old failure with some minor changes here and there in the players' lines. The shopworn clichés are rearranged into innumerable patterns, but their origin and smell are familiar. If there is anything original or significant in this new effort, this reviewer has failed to detect it. The University of Chicago should have consulted some of the able economists on its own faculty before lending its name to this promotion.

Hayek (like Snyder) believes that capitalism and capitalists were God's gift to man to protect him from his wicked enemy, the State. His appeal is for the return of the good old days when we had a "free" society; the days when we had an "impersonal," "competitive," and "automatic market" economy; when the State did not inject itself into economic affairs at every turn by "planning" and "regimentation" which interfere with personal freedom. To Hayek, capitalism is still the only true liberalism, the inseparable twin of democracy. On the other hand, "Fascism," "Nazism," "totalitarianism," "Socialism," "Collectivism," and "Social Planning" are all lumped together as belonging to the same evil breed. They all strive for security; and security, he says, is incompatible with freedom. Security would mean that the certainty of a pension, rather than "con-

fidence in his making good" would "make a young man eligible for marriage." Economic planning implies a "military type of society" where work and workers alike are allotted by authority. It means (to Hayek) "equality in restraint and servitude;" a "central authority" who "arbitrarily" decides on "individual ends." Planners will have to "rationalize" their decisions by "spreading myths." According to him, economic disturbances, unemployment, and hardships "will always be with us so long as the economic system has to adapt itself to continuous change." To start on any sort of program of conscious planning is dangerous because once you start you can't stop, and so you are inevitably headed for "dictatorship." If only we would establish a truly free competitive society, we would all wind up in Hayek's Garden of Eden.

Of course, like all such theorists, Hayek can't and does not try to tell us how we can achieve his concept of a "free society." On the contrary, some of his assertions point to the futility of trying; for despite his longing for the liberal traditions of an agrarian age, he seems to recognize that in our complex industrial society we can not go back to a *laissez faire* system. He concedes that where free competition is ineffective, "other methods" are necessary. He admits the need for public relief for the distressed; for governmental guarantees for minimum standards of subsistence through minimum wages and social security; for factory laws; for public regulations to curb monopolistic practices, prevent fraud and exploitation of ignorance, etc. Just where he would stop such

governmental "interferences" is not quite clear because, like so many other apologists for our predatory economy, he so often hedges and qualifies his theories (in one place he even commends planning "in the good sense") that you just can't be sure which part dominates which.

The book left this reviewer wondering how the author would *apply* his theories to the specific conditions that actually confront us; for example, the substitution of mechanical power for human power; the resultant decline in man's independence as he became more dependent on impersonal economic forces; the anti-social planning of private corporate governments and irresponsible absentee owners; the huge concentrations of economic power among a relatively few families; the cartels, trusts, and monopolies; the slums; the failure of investment to keep up with savings; the frozen purchasing power which prevents us from absorbing all of our productive capacity; the practices which tend to restrict or suppress our productive capacity; the periodic break downs of our economic machinery and the depressions, unemployment, and human misery resulting therefrom; the destructive warfare between pressure blocs. What, specifically, would Hayek do about these things? On trying to apply his theories to these situations or the problem of post-war conversion, I could not escape the feeling that Hayek, not Wallace, is the impractical visionary, the starry-eyed dreamer of fantastic dreams.

One of Hayek's pet fears is that under social planning, the highest rewards will go to the unscrupulous and the least deserving. Shouldn't he first try to explain why rewards are *now* distributed so unfairly? Surely he must know that the element of social contribution now plays a minor role in determining who gets what; that the producer of socially useful goods or services is apt to be paid far less than his just deserts while the highest rewards are now dished out largely on the basis of accident, speculation, cun-

ning, or legal manipulation. It is *now* that rewards are arbitrary and unfair; *now*, that our democratic freedoms are threatened by concentrated economic power; *now*, that we suffer from "politics," graft, corruption, and selfish pressure groups; it is *now* that our political and economic systems are saturated with fraud, aggression, and low moral standards, not to mention inefficiency. Yet, in the face of all these existing evils, we are warned that they *will* arise to plague us if we go in for social planning.

Some of Hayek's assertions are incredibly naïve as, for example, the notion that Fascism and Naziism are Collectivism or "middle class Socialism." He should be told the fundamental difference between Socialism and Fascism; between the social ownership of basic industries and the Fascist ideal of private ownership under state control with the financial oligarchy in control of the state. To him, the Hitlers, Himmlers, and Streichers are "Socialists" who merely used rougher methods to get power. At this late day it is generally accepted that these Fascist rabble rousers were hired by the financial and military interests, acting behind the scene, not to promote, but to head off the growing Socialist movement in Germany. They gave Hitler a tremendous publicity build-up as a "Socialist," annexing that word to their Fascist party label. By this and other demagogic devices, they managed to snare enough votes to secure power. Those who took Hitler's "socialism" seriously and insisted on socialist measures were promptly dealt with by the purge and the concentration camp. Does this sort of fraud turn Fascists into Socialists?

Equally absurd is Hayek's assertion that the anti-Semitism of Hitler and the anti-Kulak campaign of the U. S. S. R. both have their origin in the same cause—anti-Capitalism. How ludicrous this must seem to those who know that anti-Capitalist Russia was foremost in the campaign to outlaw anti-Semitism while

those Fascists who sing the praises of Capitalism the loudest are everywhere trying to follow Hitler's scape-goat technique as a ladder to power. Hayek's desperate attempt to link together the German and Russian ideologies is pitiful. Germany and Russia are at the opposite ends of the poles so far as their respective economies and social philosophies are concerned. But to Hayek both are rooted in Marxism. He does not seem to grasp the very vital difference between regulation and collectivism; between public ownership and public control. The former means public *enterprise*; and public enterprise is the very opposite of public control or regimentation. Public enterprise involves a positive function, i.e. management or administration of socially useful production, not police work. There is no need to regiment employees or customers of a publicly owned T. V. A. or postal system. To manage a public enterprise brings into play a concert of interest between the public and its official servants; the harmonious inner motivations of public managers engaged in the production of useful goods or services. Public regulation, on the other hand, involves employment, not in useful production, but in police or watchdog service. It aims to curb the freedom of action of private owners. It means a separation of ownership from control, hence disunity and an incessant conflict of interest between the motivations of private owners and public controllers, each seeking to outwit the other. In this perpetual conflict of interest are to be found the opportunities and temptations for "politics," graft, and public corruption.

We may grant that an excess of regimentary laws to curb the aggressions of private enterprisers is not the most desirable way of dealing with current evils. For dealing with public utilities and other monopolistic or semi-monopolistic enterprises, public ownership or public competition would seem to many to be a far better solution. But Hayek looks with

horror upon public ownership even in the case of monopoly enterprise. He prefers public regulation, claiming that regulation will involve less "politics" and "arbitrary" state action. Those who are familiar with the history of the attempts to "regulate" utilities and the politics and corruption resulting therefrom—our Chicago traction situation, to use a local example—will violently disagree with Hayek; especially if they compare such "regulated" enterprises with publicly owned enterprises like our municipal water, light, power, and traction systems.

Hayek's book is full of bromides, ambiguities, and inconsistencies. Nor is the element of bad faith lacking. The author repeatedly employs Fascists and Socialist renegades to interpret Socialist philosophy. He distorts the meaning of a Sidney Webb quotation and wrongfully appropriates John Stuart Mill as a supporter of his views. Although corporate influence and concentrated economic power had not yet reached importance in his day, Mill had already been converted to a semi-socialistic philosophy. He advocated public ownership of monopolistic enterprises and yardstick competition for doubtful areas to determine which—public or private enterprise—is more efficient. Were Mill alive today, he would, I am sure, be most contemptuous of Hayek's notions. To Mill, the democratic state was an instrument of the people, not their enemy.

Another offense, unbecoming to one who poses as a scientific thinker, is Hayek's scornful comparison between Russia's productive capacity and living standards with those of the United States. Why should he single out the most advanced capitalistic nation in the world for comparison with a new economy established by a backward peasant people? Why not compare Russia with capitalist Poland or China or Argentina? or better yet, with capitalist Russia of Czarist days? Most of the people of the

world feel a sense of obligation to the Russians for their heroic contributions in the war against Fascism. We are intrigued by their planning which dispersed industries and in other ways made their war effort possible. We are impressed with their advances in industry, science, education, and race relations, and by their aspirations for a peaceful democratic world. But to this intellectual trickster, the Russian and the Nazi objectives are the same.

Hayek's analysis of the "free market" and its achievements has been effectively demolished by a more realistic economist, Polyani, who in his recent book, *The Great Transformation*, shows that instead of individual freedom, the free market brought on moral degeneration, economic dislocations, and the suppression of freedom. Hayek's nostalgia for the free market and the unplanned society of the past reminds this reviewer of the railings of some of the lawyers when their old acquired knowledge of common law pleading was virtually repealed by the adoption of the new Illinois Civil Practice Act.

Most of the profession recognized the need for this long overdue change and adapted themselves to it by re-learning the law. But the few who lacked the constitutional fortitude required for the readjustment continued to grumble and pine for the "good old days." It is such as they who would have the world stay put in conformity with their traditional learning, rather than take the pains to adapt themselves to needed change.

No, Professor Hayek, the road to serfdom is not the one you warn us against, but rather the one you would have us take. Planning does not necessarily mean dictatorship; it simply means the systematic utilization of knowledge and science; it aims at greater efficiency; co-operation and co-ordination instead of warfare; the exploitation of nature instead of each other. Social and economic planning is here to stay. It has gained acceptance throughout the world by demonstrated merit. Democracies, too, can plan, and must plan; and among other things, they must plan for more democracy.

TO ONE CORRESPONDING

By RUTH E. LANCASTER

You are not known to me by form or face
 Yet I may know you more than one whose eyes
 In daily, pleasant journeyings may trace
 That loveliness which I may but surmise:
 Eyelids may drop on secrets, tongues withdraw
 Before a look, or lips be shy to sound
 Joy's tremolo, or weak to shout their law
 When walking pathways of accompanied ground.

But your white soul is laid upon these sheets—
 Untouched by contact's impulse, unafraid
 Of look or mean derision your dream beats
 Through silences my listening has made;
 That warmth where your writing hand did rest
 Is all I touch, and still I know you best!

A Jewish-Arab Rapprochement Is Not Impossible

By MARK KRUG

BY A STRANGE COINCIDENCE the Zionist movement and the extreme Pan-Arab leaders suffered recently grave political defeats. These defeats may possibly bring about new efforts to reach an understanding between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine. It can hardly be denied that the political prospects for the Zionist endeavor at the present time are gloomy indeed. Only incorrigible optimists still believe that Great Britain will soon repeal the White Paper of 1939 and open the gates of Palestine for a large Jewish immigration. The recent speeches made in Palestine by Dr. Chaim Weizmann were obviously calculated to throw cold water on those who are still under such illusions.

It is also no secret anymore that President Roosevelt's insistence that any pro-Zionist resolution of the Congress must wait until the end of the war, deeply grieved the Zionist leaders in America. The tabling of the Palestine resolution by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee precipitated a crisis in the Zionist Emergency Council which ended with the resignation of its co-chairman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

While the extreme Arab leaders in Palestine are naturally gleeful over the setback suffered by the American Zionists, they themselves are still a bit shaky from the rude shock received during the recently held Pan-Arab Conference in Alexandria. When, after months of negotiations and preparations the delegates finally convened in Alexandria, it became obvious even to the most ardent Pan-Arabs that the creation of a Pan-Arab Union is not in the realm of present

reality. Ibn Saud, the king of Hedjaz refused to send delegates, and successively each and every plan for a political Pan-Arab Federation was tabled by the conference. The complete fiasco of the conference became apparent when a few days after the conference closed, Nahas Pasha of Egypt and Nuri Said Pasha of Iraq were abruptly dismissed as premiers of their respective countries.

The Arab press in Palestine did not attempt to hide the disappointment felt by the Palestinian Arabs with the actions of their "big brothers." At the same time, Jewish papers complained bitterly against the apparent indifference displayed by the American friends of Zionism. It is to be hoped that these disappointments suffered by Jews and Arabs alike, will encourage both sides to make bold and effective moves toward a lasting mutual agreement. They might well feel that the time has come to solve their own problems without outside help or interference.

The Arab opposition, as is well known, has been the most formidable obstacle toward the realization of the Zionist dream in Palestine. While at times, it must be admitted, some Jewish statesmen were prone to minimize the importance of the Arab problem and have tried to brush it aside with superficial and militant phraseology, Zionist leaders in responsible positions have been, on the whole, well aware of the fact that an agreement with the Arabs is the *conditio sine qua non* for the continued and successful Jewish colonization effort in Palestine. Achad Haam, the late Jewish philosopher, who combined a deep philosophical mind with a keen common sense,

warned the Zionists in 1903 that the Arab opposition will increase proportionately with the growth of Jewish immigration and settlement. He urged that efforts be made to gain the sympathy and the support of the Arabs.

Dr. Weizmann, the President of the World Zionist Organization, took action in the direction urged by Achad Haam as early as 1922. Just a few years after the Balfour Declaration was ratified by the nations of the world, he dispatched to Palestine Col. Kisch (later the gallant Chief Engineer of the Eighth Army) to do everything possible to come to terms with the Arabs.

Col. Kisch sincerely believed that all difficulties with the Arabs could be overcome if Jewish and Arab leaders were to meet for a roundtable discussion without intermediaries. Unfortunately, Herbert Samuel, the first British High Commissioner in Palestine was convinced that such a move was premature, and had only words of discouragement for such a conference. Bowing, under protest, to this official attitude, Kisch demanded that the government encourage the moderate Arab leaders and withdraw its support from the extremists. But to his dismay, the Mufti and his reactionary supporters were given a free hand to dominate the religious and the political life of the Arab community. They have conducted, without any restraint, a continuous vicious anti-Jewish propaganda and have repeatedly silenced any Arab leader who favored an agreement with the Jews. Kisch, who was not a man to make hasty accusations, found himself nevertheless compelled to protest against the fact that a few Arabs in high religious posts were allowed to exert political pressure and lead the extremist elements. When in 1924, the government announced its intention to hold elections to the Legislative Council where Jewish and Arab representatives were to be seated, the Mufti and his henchmen declared that they would boycott the elections. The govern-

ment watched passively as, day after day, the Arab radical papers carried on a pernicious propaganda against the elections and as one moderate Arab leader after another was forced to support the boycott. Finally the Arab extremists achieved their full success and the elections were called off. Kisch and many neutral British observers were convinced that if the government had shown more backbone, the elections could have been held and the Mufti's sway over the masses broken.

Although resenting the government's inertia, Col. Kisch did not lose faith that an agreement between the Jews and at least with some of the Arabs can be reached. He had many Arab friends and his house was always open to receive them . . . and they took a liberal advantage of this standing invitation. Some asked for help against the Mufti's domination, some wanted help to get government loans, and still others asked his intervention with the police in purely personal matters. Many Arab leaders from neighboring countries seldom missed an opportunity to assure Col. Kisch that they are most kindly disposed toward the Jewish effort in Palestine. Jews were not lacking then, as they are undoubtedly not lacking today, many friends among the Palestinian Arabs. Kisch hailed with particular satisfaction the organization in 1924, of a moderate Hebron Fellahin Party which was kindly disposed toward the Jews. Given the proper official encouragement, this party would have easily become a dominant factor in the Arab political life because it had among its many supporters the powerful family of Nashasibi, bitter enemies of the Mufti. But when such encouragement was not forthcoming from official quarters, Col. Kisch did everything possible to support it. When on his visit to America in 1927, he influenced the great philanthropist, Nathan Strauss, to give a large sum of money to the Palestine Foundation Fund with the stipulation that one third of it

should be used for the purchase of agricultural machinery for Arab villages friendly to the Jews. Col. Kisch purchased the machinery and shipped it to the members of the Hebron Party. He regretted deeply that in the riots of 1929 the Hebron Party was swept from the Arab political scene. Col. Kisch was a good personal friend of the late king Hussein of Hedjaz and his son Abdullah, the Emir of Transjordan. The old King who had no love to spare for the Mufti Haj Emin, assured Kisch time and time again that he was most kindly disposed to the Jews in their efforts to rebuild Palestine. He was convinced that if the Jews were successful in reassuring the Palestinian Arabs that they did not intend to dominate them politically, the Arabs in Palestine and in other countries would withdraw their objections to Zionism. It is interesting to note that Kisch, as he states in his Diary, had the distinct impression that Emir Abdullah shared his father's views.

Col. Kisch's successors, the late Dr. Arlozoroff and the present head of the political department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, Mr. Moshe Shertok, have undoubtedly continued his efforts to break the Jewish-Arab impasse. The proper evaluation of these efforts is quite impossible because of the little information that is available. The only well publicized attempts to solve the Arab problem are those made by the Brith-Shalom and its latest successor the Ichud Party, and also by the left-wing socialist groups of Hashomer Hatzair. The efforts of the Histadruth Ha-Odim, the official labor organization, have been much more vague in character.

The Ichud or Unity Party led by Dr. Judah L. Magnes and Henrietta Szold, two leaders well known in America, became lately a very active group in the Palestinian Jewry. Unlike the former Brith-Shalom, the Ichud has some measure of popular support especially in the ranks of leftist labor. Dr. Magnes stated

in a letter to the *Nation* which was published on Dec. 23, 1944 that the principal aim of his party is: "political and numerical parity between Jews and Arabs in a bi-national Palestine which is to be part of a larger union consisting of four autonomous units—Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and Lebanon." He is convinced that "if an attempt is made to convert Palestine into an Arab state or a Jewish state there will be war there."

Since Magnes' and Miss Szold's sincerity and deep love for Palestine can be questioned only by fool-hardy fanatics, their views should be given the most serious consideration. But the factual political conditions in Palestine fail to establish the validity of their arguments. According to Dr. Magnes, numerical parity is to be achieved by an additional immigration of 500,000 Jews into Palestine on the basis of the economic absorptive capacity of the country. There is no reason to believe that the extreme Arab leaders, who oppose the immigration of a single additional Jew, will agree to a large immigration and accept assurances that the immigration will be stopped voluntarily by the Jews, once parity is achieved. They should be given enough credit to understand that the ultimate stoppage of Jewish immigration will come only when the economic capacity of the land is exhausted or when there will be no more Jews who will want or who will have to go to Palestine. On the other hand, Ichud's hope for the creation of a larger Pan-Arab union which would include Lebanon, whose Christians are determined to guard their independence, and Syria, which is under the French domination, is as the Alexandria conference has proved, far too premature, if at all practicable.

In spite of all these difficulties a Jewish-Arab agreement is in the realm of reality. Such an agreement cannot be reached by Dr. Magnes' plan, which irritates Jews and Arabs alike, nor can it be achieved by some utterly fantastic

scheme calling for a large transfer of Palestinian Arabs to Transjordan or Iraq. It is to be regretted that such proposals were printed in recent months in the pages of two respectable American magazines. The Arab fellaheen, whose ancestors have lived in Palestine for hundreds of years, will not move anywhere unless forced to do so at the point of a gun—and no one in his right mind would propose such a procedure. A Jewish-Arab rapprochement will come only when the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine destroy the walls of isolation which they have built around them. This isolation is today political, economic, and socio-cultural.

It is a fallacy to assume that all Arabs oppose Zionism. The Arab peasants who form the great bulk of the population live in semi-feudal economic conditions and have very little interest and even less influence in political affairs. Being endowed with a great deal of common sense they are well aware of the greed and lust for power of their leadership which is largely composed of great landowners and wealthy merchants. The fact that these leaders did receive at times a certain amount of popular support can be understood only if one remembers that Arab leaders in Palestine fill the highest secular and religious offices as well. It is the mantle of the Mufti that has gained popular support for Haj Amin el Husseini. The deeply religious Arab masses followed the Mufti in the 1929 and 1936 riots because he told them that the Jews plan to destroy the Mosque of Omar in order to rebuild the Temple of Solomon. No amount of harping upon the threat of Jewish political domination could have spurred the Arab peasants to action. Today when the Arabs are a bit wiser to the Mufti's line of propaganda the Arab leaders feel once again that they are operating in a political vacuum.

Even the anti-Zionist *New York Times* carried on March 4 a dispatch from Jerusalem which reported that Arab leaders have trouble to "drum up a popu-

lar following," and *Falastin*, an Arab influential newspaper in Jaffa wrote commenting on the creation of the Jewish Brigade: "Palestine is the common homeland of the Jews and Arabs" and consequently urged that Arabs be admitted to the brigade. This stand seems to indicate that a change is taking place in some Arab circles toward the Jewish effort in Palestine.

If an agreement with the extreme leaders like the Mufti and his henchmen is impossible, there is reason to believe that many moderate Arabs would to-day be ready to come to terms with the Jews. While the Mufti is absent from Palestine—and it seems quite certain that he will never return there—Arab political life is dominated at least partly by leaders who have never been averse to the Jewish colonization, provided that they can be assured of the benefits which will come to the Arab population from the continued Jewish immigration. The two powerful Arab families of the Nashashibis and the Djanis have never hidden their opposition to the extreme policies and methods of the Mufti.

Emir Abdullah, the ruler of Transjordan, has likewise shown in his negotiations with Col. Kisch and others, that if the Arabs could be assured that the Jews do not intend to dominate the Arabs politically, he would be ready to use his powerful influence in Palestine toward an immediate rapprochement. It is quite reasonable to assume that the Emir, whose plan for a united Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan was flatly rejected in Alexandria, is ready to-day for an even further-reaching agreement with the Jews. Such an agreement would provide for the political and economic unification of Palestine and Transjordan—a union fully justified historically and geographically. Emir Abdullah could be then assured of the development of his backward country. Jewish capital, engineers, and skilled workers could help to modernize Transjordan's agriculture,

develop a new industry, introduce citrus plantations etc. The continued large Jewish immigration into Palestine would no more raise the question of political domination because the combined Arab populations of Transjordan and Palestine would far outnumber the Jews for many years to come.

From the Zionist point of view, such an agreement could not be looked upon as a compromise because it is a step toward the full realization of the Balfour Declaration which when given applied, in the understanding of Jews and Arabs alike, to both sides of the Jordan. The political and military jurisdiction of the High Commissioner in Palestine extends to Transjordan as well because the mandate speaking of Palestine meant obviously the lands on both sides of the Jordan. When in 1922, Transjordan was severed from Palestine to provide an emirate for Abdullah, both the Arabs and the Jews protested vigorously. There is good reason to believe that a unification of those two countries at the present time would be welcomed by Jews and Arabs alike.

It has never been denied that certain Jewish and Arab groups have common economic interests. The merchants and industrialists have fought in the past and will have to fight even more vigorously in the post-war competitive era for a protective customs tariff which the Palestine Government has consistently refused to adopt. During the war, Jewish industry and, to a lesser degree, Arab industry has grown with remarkable speed. This young industry had the full cooperation and support of the government because supplies were urgently needed by the Allied military forces in the Middle East, but there are grave doubts if this support will be continued after the war when Great Britain will be able to export its wares without any shipping difficulties. Common sense would urge Jewish and Arab businessmen to create bi-national Chambers of Commerce in

order to defend and expand with joint efforts the new industry and market production and exports to the greatest benefit of the country.

Jewish and Arab planters must also increase their cooperation in the field of supervision and control over the export of oranges. It does not serve the best interests of the Jews or the Arabs to flood foreign markets with inferior grades of Palestinian oranges. Arab fellaheen, especially those living near Jewish settlements, have benefitted greatly from the example of scientific agricultural methods. This beneficial influence should be greatly increased. Jewish farming experts could undertake to teach the Arab peasants the use of modern machinery, and modern techniques.

Bi-national organizations of Jewish and Arab workers have prospects for success because some beginnings have been already made and a great deal of experience has been accumulated. As early as 1927, the Histadruth, the powerful Jewish labor organization in Palestine, established "The Workers Alliance of Palestine," called for brevity in Hebrew, the Brith. Its aim is "to unite all the workers of Palestine, regardless of religion, nationality, or race into one Federation, in order to better their economic, social and cultural status." The success of the Brith has been quite limited, though, and today, after eighteen years of organizing, there are no more than about 1000 Arabs among its members, although latest statistics show that there are over 160,000 Arab workers in the entire country. It must be admitted that the efforts to organize Arab labor have not always been as intensive as those made in recent months. In years of great immigration and political tranquility, there has been a tendency to slacken in the work and to minimize its importance. Another reason for the inadequate achievement lies perhaps in the sharp disagreement on the Arab problem among the leaders of the Histadruth. The majority of the

leaders support the so-called 'Biltmore program' which calls for the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine but a strong minority opposes this program, mainly because such a demand would further impede the growth of a bi-national labor organization.

On the other hand, new factors have arisen which might make the renewed efforts to organize the Arab workers much easier. Jewish labor organizations have always insisted on the exclusive employment of Jewish labor in Jewish enterprises. This demand seemed fully justified in view of the fact that Arab workers, having a much lower standard of living, asked for less pay and caused therefore a competition which was economically unjust and socially undesirable. Owing to the manpower shortage caused by the needs of the Allied armies in the Near East, a considerable rise in the wages of the Arab workers has taken place. This rise brought the Jewish and Arab wages to an almost equal level. Since the difference in earnings and consequently in the standard of living has been one of the main obstacles toward a bi-national workers union, the present prospects for such an organization seem now to be much brighter.

The Palestinian Jewish community has also shown recently that it is deeply concerned with the lack of social intermingling between Jews and Arabs. It happens very seldom that Arabs visit Jewish homes and vice versa. The main difficulty seems to be the language—very few Jews speak Arabic and almost no Arabs speak Hebrew. To improve the situation, the Education Department of the Jewish National Council has recently greatly increased the number of hours to be devoted to the study of Arabic in all Jewish schools. It would be most desirable that Arabic become a compulsory subject in all Jewish highschools in Palestine. In turn, the government which supports and controls most of the Arab

schools should be pressed to introduce Hebrew as a part of the curriculum there.

The late Brigadier Kisch for many years urged mixed schools where Jewish and Arab students would study in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. Jewish educators have strongly opposed this plan, arguing, quite convincingly, that the most immediate task of a Jewish school in Palestine is to imbue the new generation with love for the newly-rebuilt land, its reborn language and culture so that they might do their share in the pioneering effort. All these tasks, they rightly pointed out, can not be accomplished in a mixed school. But there is no reason why institutions of higher learning, like technical colleges, universities, nursing schools, etc. should not be open to students of both nationalities. The Hebrew University which has done some pioneering work in that direction and has enrolled a number of Arab students, praised recently, in an official report, the excellent relations that exist between these students and their Jewish colleagues.

There can be no purpose in minimizing the difficulties which face the realization of such a plan for Jewish-Arab rapprochement, the main reason for sobriety being that up to now no political leader of any stature among the Arabs has stepped forward with a clear statement which would favor mutual understanding in a spirit of compromise. It is hoped, however, that Great Britain will not repeat the mistakes made by her in the past and will sincerely encourage the moderate elements among the Arabs and facilitate Arab-Jewish contacts. On the other hand, all those who still complacently try to talk away the Arab problem with superficial resolutions, or with wishful thinking, are endangering the magnificent accomplishment of Jewish pioneering in Palestine. Arab opposition to Jewish colonization has been growing

steadily in the past. The riots of 1920 and 1929 were much less violent and sustained than those starting in 1936. There must be no more riots in Palestine after this war, not because the heroic Palestinian Jews could not withstand another attack,

but because the work of colonization, if it is to be continued and expanded, must have many years of peace—and peace in Palestine can be achieved only when the Jews and Arabs are able to reach a durable understanding.

*Tomorrow*

HOWARD SIMON

Jewish Music Today

By LEON STEIN

CONTEMPORARY JEWISH MUSIC, the music that is performed and composed today, includes the following categories: (a) Liturgical music, (b) Ashkenazic music, (c) Hassidic music, (d) Palestinian music, and (e) Art music. These categories, by no means mutually exclusive, sometimes overlap. In the strict and more limited sense, the term "Jewish Music" ought to include only those examples which are distinctively and inherently Judaic in content and idiom. In the looser and more inclusive sense it comprises music which we term Jewish by reason of an associated text (Hebrew or Yiddish), or program, title, or function. It is obvious that much of the music in the latter category is not really Jewish, any more than the Saint-Saens "Symphony in C Minor" is *really* French, or Deems Taylor's music is *really* American. However, in order to have a complete picture of the scope of Jewish Music today, we will, in this article, interpret the term in the broader sense.

When we speak of French or Russian music we think of the music of a definite people, whose homogeneity derives principally from their having been in the same land for a long time. But the Jews are dispersed over all the earth, and, except for a small group in Palestine, do not have a national identity in a geographic sense. Nevertheless, and despite this condition, they possess those attributes which ordinarily result from being together in the same land, and which are involved in a cultural nationalism. These attributes include language, custom, self-identification, and a living tradition. It is these factors that unify and

integrate Jewish groups in different lands, on different continents. It is this integration that justifies the use of the term "Jewish Music" to include not only the music of any one land, but the Jewish music of all the world.

A concrete instance may make this clear: A mystic Russian Jew of the eighteenth century founds a sect which develops a distinct musical utterance. A Russian Jew, a Swiss Jew, and an American Jew, each independently of the other, subsequently find a musical inspiration in the idea and the distinctive idiom of this sect. In this instance Hassidism with its wealth of mystic lore, its revery and its ecstasy, was the integrating means. There are many such unifying factors in Jewish life (apart from the obvious ritual, custom, and language affinities) and these serve as spiritual bonds between individuals and groups in far off foreign lands.

The most important functional use of Jewish Music is to be found in the liturgical field. However, the music of the orthodox, conservative, and reformed temples differs in several important particulars. These differences may be briefly summarized as follows: The orthodox choir is composed of men, or of men and boys; the conservative and reformed choirs are mixed. The orthodox and conservative services are unaccompanied whereas the reformed temple permits the use of the organ. In the orthodox synagogue, only Hebrew is used, whereas in the conservative and reformed temples, Hebrew and the vernacular are employed. The orthodox and conservative services utilize the cantor or "chazzan;" in the reformed temple, the function of the

"chazzan" is filled by secular soloists and the choir. In the types of music used, the differences, as we shall note, are correspondingly marked.

Most of the orthodox synagogues in the United States are in, and were founded by, communities originating in Central and Eastern Europe (Poland, Russia, Hungary, Roumania etc.). The music used in these synagogues reflects this origin. It is characterized by the preponderant use of minor tonalities; improvisation coloratura embellishments by the cantor; free and occasionally incongruous settings by the cantor or choir (operatic and semi-popular airs sometimes having been used). The method of tone-production on the part of the singers is oriental in its nasal quality, and East European in its pathetic or sentimental inflection. Since many of the cantors and choir members have had little formal schooling in music, it is not surprising that we find the orthodox synagogue least progressive in its attitude towards new music. In addition each cantor is zealously intent on exploiting his own "compositions;" so there is little of that interchange which makes for stimulating progress.

In urban communities, the relationship of the kind of Temple to a locality and the income-level of its population has important musical implications. In Chicago, there are thirty-nine orthodox synagogues. Of these, twenty-two are on the west, or near north-west side in communities which are, or are closely associated with, immigrant Jewish population centers. Of the sixteen conservative, and thirteen reformed temples, but one is on the "west-side," the others being in more or less outlying communities. On the whole, the income-level of the members of the conservative and reformed congregations is higher than that of the members of the orthodox synagogue.

The tendency of wealthy and upper middle class Jews is in the direction of assimilation, not necessarily in the worst sense of the term. Though many were

offspring of orthodox East European Jews, they broke away from the strict rituals of their fathers, and from those conditions and associations which were uncomfortably reminiscent of the ghetto, American or European. Many members of reformed congregations (of this the writer has had several first hand experiences) strenuously object to the use of any music which is from, or has the character of, the older synagogue music. "It sounds too minor, too sad; let's get away from this constant wailing. This is America," one individual remarked in the course of a discussion. The tendency to associate minor with sadness, and major with joy, is a characteristic of Western music; in oriental-Hebraic music, rhythm and tempo rather than major or minor mode is the important determinant. However, for occidental communities, there is no gainsaying the strength of an association which is corroborated by all of its music; and for the Jews in such communities it becomes increasingly difficult to capture the mode and rhythm associations which brought the traditional music into being.

A subtle means of spiritual assimilation has been the organ. It was first used in Europe (for Jewish services) in the first Reform Temple, established in Westphalia in 1810 by the wealthy merchant Israel Jacobsen. From that time on, and until quite recently, most reform temple organists have been non-Jewish. Not only these early organists, but Jacobsen himself, introduced hymns in German to the tunes of German chorales. Other music was taken from either secular or Protestant church literature. As for organ music itself, there was hardly any other recourse; there had been no Jewish instrumental religious music for centuries. However, even if there had been, it would have been discarded or altered as were the traditional chants. Thus, from the very beginning, was set the tradition of using church music in conjunction with Jewish services, a procedure followed to

this day in the reformed temple. Only the most recent editions of the Union Hymnal make any attempt to rectify this condition. In the middle of the last century, when Jewish musicians in Germany attempted to use traditional Jewish material, they simply did a job of musical plastic surgery on the physiognomy of Jewish song, Germanizing the East-European tunes to conform to chorale-like models.

However, as a result of more widespread education, including formal musical training, many of the individuals associated with the reformed temple today assume a more enlightened attitude towards their music. Either as organists, choir members, members of the music committee, or as articulate members of the congregation, these individuals are today approaching the subject of *Jewish* music for the Temple with greater understanding and sympathy. Abuses will continue to exist for some time but, more and more, inferior and unsuitable works are being superseded by the more congruous Hebraic works of such composers as Saminsky, Schalit, Adler, Binder, Weinberg, and Bloch. Services and sacred works of these composers do not derive from the protestant church style, but are based on the modes, or the *idea* of the cantillations, and on a true, not a diluted or adulterated concept, of orientalism.

Though often affected or modified by particular national influences, orientalism in Europe was preserved in the music of the Ashkenazim of Eastern Europe—"Ashkenazim are Jews living in Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, and those Jews in America, Africa, Asia, and Australia, who are descendants of them." The word derived from *Ashkenaz* in Genesis 10:3, which supposedly referred to Germany; originally only the German Jews were called Ashkenazim.

Ashkenazic music, closely bound up with the use and development of Yiddish, was the secular song of the masses of

Central and East European Jewry. However, the usual connotations of "secular" do not apply here. As A. Z. Idelsohn has so well written, the spiritual nationality of the Jew "brought forth a folk song as distinctive as the people itself. Just as to the Jew religion meant life, and life religion, so to him sacred song has been folk song, and folk song sacred song. In the folk-songs current among the Jewish people there are included tunes for Bible texts, or tunes based upon Biblical themes, for prayers, for religious poetry, for the elevation of the soul to its creator—and finally melodies which express the innumerable struggles and pains the Jew has suffered. There are songs for the family table on Sabbaths and holiday. . . . Even those types of songs common to all peoples, which are designated as 'secular,' such as cradle and love songs, humorous songs and ballads, . . . received an impress of the religious life concept that flowed in the blood of the Jew."

The most active period of Ashkenazic folk song creation was that of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After the first decades of the present century, few new folk songs were created. By that time the Haskoloh, industrialization, and migrations of large numbers had disrupted or destroyed the small, secluded, self-contained communities wherein the folk-songs had flourished. The appearance of printed collections of Jewish folk songs at the beginning of this century is a verification of this condition. When a printed collection of folk-songs appears, it indicates that the "naive" period of folk-song creation has passed. Either the community has become so sophisticated as to produce individuals artful enough to undertake such a project; or, the end of its isolation is indicated by the fact that it has come in contact with "outsiders," who collect the songs. The collection of Southern Appalachian songs by Cecil Sharp, of cowboy and mountain songs by the Lomaxes, of logging-camp songs by Franz Rickaby, all mark the end of

a particular era. In 1844 the "Sacred Harp" collection of Psalms and Hymn-Tunes, published in Georgia, included twenty-five examples of revival spirituals; in 1850 twenty-two were added; in 1859, twelve; in 1911, eight; and in 1936, one new song was added. It is symptomatic that the earliest collections of Ashkenazic folk-song appeared from about 1900 on: Guinsborg and Marek, Petersburg, 1901; I. L. Cahan, New York, 1912; and the "*Mitteilungen für Jüdische Volkskunde*" edited by Grunwald, Hamburg-Vienna, 1898-1926.

However, though the creation of Jewish-European folk songs was of the past, Jewish composers now began to arrange this material for various choral and instrumental combinations. Before the twentieth century self-seclusion, religious observances, restrictions, and economic conditions all had combined to mitigate against one's following a career as a Jewish musician in art-music. By the end of the past century, however, conditions had begun to change so that Jewish musicians did not have to convert themselves in order to follow such a career. This change coincided with the crystallization of Ashkenazic source material. The Society for Jewish Folk Music was organized in 1908, its purpose being the collecting and arranging of folk songs. Among the composers whose arrangements and compositions were issued were Gnessin, Milner, Lwow, I. Achron, Saminsky, and Schalit. Achron's "Hebrew Melody," Julius Wolfsohn's "Paraphrase on Old Jewish Melodies," Ravel's settings of "Meierke, Mein Zun," and "Kaddish" are among the results of the tendency to utilize traditional and folk materials. New arrangements of such materials are constantly appearing, both in instrumental and racial treatments. Choral settings by Lazar Weiner, Max Helfman, and Jacob Schaeffer are particularly noteworthy.

The Jewish Theater of today, particularly light comedy, derives much of its musical background from Ashkenazic

folk-music. Often the latter is diluted, parodied, vulgarised, or sentimentalized, but the sources remain nonetheless evident. Among the more successful composers for the Jewish theater in America are Secunda and Rumshinsky. The Yiddish theater here, dependent on an immigrant following for its survival, has closely followed the decline in Jewish immigration in America. Before the present war, however, Lithuania, and particularly Vilna, was the spiritual home of Yiddish culture, and a much higher standard prevailed there. Now the Russian-Jewish communities have assumed this leadership (distinguishing, of course, Yiddish from Hebraic-Palestinian developments). Undoubtedly the Yiddish theater in America will continue to decline, but it is doubtful that it will entirely disappear. However, once the complexion of American Jewry changes from an immigrant to that of a native population, the mass following which previously supported Jewish Musical comedy, and the Jewish theater, will be replaced by a much smaller group.

Ashkenazic folk-music has one other important use, this one somewhat functional in nature. In the Yiddish language schools, both in North and South America (some maintained by fraternal units such as the Workmen's Circle, the International Workers Order, some by Zionist groups, and some by autonomous cultural organizations), the simpler folk songs are utilized as an integral part of the curriculum. This is done for the purpose of teaching the language, and establishing a "feel" for such folk-material in conjunction with the general pedagogic purpose of developing a knowledge of, and interest in, and a sympathy for things Jewish.

Another type of Jewish music which had its origin in Eastern Europe is Hasidic music. In a previous article, I have discussed this music at some length; here we will be concerned only with its present-day aspects. The dance rhythms, the

moods of mysticism, meditation, reverie, ecstasy, and abandon have served to attract many composers, including Bloch, Saminsky, Milner, Gnessin, Chajes, Veprik, and Rosowsky. Both traditional Hassidic material and original quasi-Hassidic tunes and rhythms are utilized in the works of these composers. "The Dybbuk" and "Yashe Kalb" are but two of many Jewish dramas that have used Hassidic melodies as essential background. There is a universality in the mystic concepts of Hassidism, in the yearning for a transfigured ecstasy, that transcends the limits of a small sect, a universality that allows even those to whom the externals of language and custom are foreign, to sense the essence of this creed, and to find in it an emotional accord beyond the words of any language.

Hassidic music is one of several vital forces that have shaped and affected Palestinian music of the last few decades. Before the present war, Palestinian folk-music represented the most vital expression of a native, an indigenous, Jewish music. Until about the seventeenth century, Jewish folk music had flourished in the Near East and the Orient; thereafter, and until the nineteenth century, its principal development took place in Central and Eastern Europe. But in both instances, the scope of the music was not complete. "Rejoice not, oh Israel, unto exaltation like the peoples," Hosea had cried, and the spiritual leaders sought to suppress any joyous expression of too secular a nature. In addition, recurrent periods of oppression resulting in an anguished and tortured existence, and constant economic restrictions offered little encouragement for joyous song.

But in Palestine there did emerge a music of affirmation, secular as well as sacred, a music of *immediate* hope and prospect. There came forth the song of the free earth, the song of the pioneer. Instead of the dualism inseparable from the life of the Diaspora, there was here the promise of a oneness, of being at home

in body as well as in mind. This was recognized by such "international" musicians as Ernest Bloch and Darius Milhaud when they accepted the presidency of the "World Center of Jewish Music," founded in Palestine in 1938. Once again after centuries of wanderings and of ghetto walls, there is a music that throbs with the sense of sheer physical well being; there are pastorals, shepherd songs, nature songs, patriotic songs, and really functional work songs chanted by the pioneer at his task. One has but to contrast the plaintive character of numberless Ashkenazic folk songs, with the stirring optimism of Palestinian songs like "*Naaleh L'Artsenu*," or "*Eilu Voeilu Modim*" to see how great a change had taken place. Orchestral and choral works on Jewish themes are not exotic or peripheral works, but are of the very core of national musical culture. Among other important activities, the establishment of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, and the projected plan of a Symphonic choir colony of full time resident members are indications of achievements and potentialities.

However, as a result of the unsettled conditions now prevailing in and around Palestine, and of the destruction of Jewish musical culture in Central Europe, Jewish music in the United States has assumed a role of preeminent importance. This condition is emphasized by the fact that many important refugee musicians are now gathered here. It is true that much is also being done in Russia; the Russian policy of stimulating and encouraging the cultural expression of minority groups has meant much for Jewish music. Yet there is a marked difference between Russian and Palestinian influence. In the former instance, there has been much of a propagandistic proletarian content in the music. In addition, though the texts of many songs might have been Yiddish, the music and the content were very often not Judaic at all. This does not necessarily reflect on the quality of the text

or the music; it simply stresses the fact that such material is not, in the strict sense, *Jewish Music*. In addition, the official negative attitude towards religion closed off one of the most important sources of Jewish musical inspiration. Even in Jewish art music, from the seventeenth century psalms of Solomon Rossi to the twentieth century Sabbath Service of Ernest Bloch, the Bible has been one of the most important of textual and spiritual sources.

In pre-war Europe such publishing companies as *Juwal* in Berlin, *Edition Jibneh* in Vienna, and *Omanut* in Yugoslavia did important work in issuing arrangements and original compositions of a Judaic content. Now that these are, at least temporarily, not in existence, American publishing firms, such as the Bloch Publishing Co., the Metro Music Co., and the Transcontinental Music Co., have become relatively more important in the issuing of Jewish Music.

Fraternal-cultural organizations like the Workmen's Circle and the International Workers' Order have been active in encouraging and publishing choral music. Outstanding among choral directors and composers associated with the I. W. O. was Jacob Schaefer; among those associated with the Workmen's Circle are Lazar Weiner and M. Gelbart. Until recently, the repertoire of the choral groups associated with these organizations included mainly proletarian songs and Ashkenazic folk-songs. Hebrew and Palestinian material was disregarded, but of late this attitude is beginning to change. Groups such as the Halevi Chorus of Chicago, so ably directed by Hyman Reznick, have done most perhaps to encourage and inculcate an understanding of, and a love for, Jewish lore among American born youth.

This fact assumes greater importance when we recall that the Workmen's Circle, I. W. O., or similar choral organizations have drawn their memberships from immigrant groups. As the tide of immi-

gration has receded, the original source of members has declined. The survival and continued existence of such organizations depends to a great extent on the number of replacements that can be found among the children and descendants of the original members. What is true of the membership is also true of the audience, for the immigrant population has furnished the principal audiences for the choral programs of the cultural-fraternal organizations. Here, too, the question of participation on the part of native American Jewry is an important one. The situation is analogous to that of the Jewish Theater mentioned previously. Activities dependent on immigrant support will diminish in scope as the proportion of immigrants in the total population declines. But because groups like the Halevi chorus of Chicago are not dependent on immigrant sustenance, their potential importance is therefore the greater.

During the past half century there has been an unprecedented interest in and development of Jewish art music. By art music is meant music written for concert and program use, and created not necessarily by reason of assignment or function, but because of a self-derived compulsion. The Haskoloh movement in nineteenth century Europe was an emancipation from within by means of which the Jews liberated themselves from an outmoded way of life. The emancipation from without came when country after country rescinded oppressive and restrictive laws, allowing the Jews a wider participation in the cultural life of Europe. As a result, the various arts which previously had not been open as a profession or a means of livelihood, were now adopted professionally by many individuals. At no previous time in the Occidental world have there been as many Jewish musicians as are to be found today.

It is true that there were many important musicians of Jewish birth in the last century. However, Mendelssohn, Gold-

mark, Rubenstein, Halevi, and Mahler never sought to exploit or develop a Judaic idiom or content in their music, though on occasion they may have used Biblical or legendary subject matter. Indeed, they most possibly doubted that such a content and idiom had any validity for and in art music, if it existed at all. In contrast, many Jewish composers today, including these previously mentioned in this discussion, are consciously aware of and seek to develop a Judaic music. There are of course many others, who like Milhaud or Schönberg are still merely Jewish by birth. Contemporary trends have made it possible to exploit the potentialities of a Hebraic idiom in consistency with recent melodic and harmonic development. Equally important, the social inferiority of the Jew during the past centuries, which led many musicians to convert themselves, is no longer an official doctrine. It is possible for the modern Jew to find artistic and self fulfillment in a racial affirmation.

Our leading composer is Ernest Bloch. Some critics would deny his Hebraic content, but we may quite assuredly accept the consensus of opinion and identify his works as truly Judaic. His works, including the Symphony "Israel," the cello solo "Schelomo," the "Sabbath Service," the "Three Jewish Poems," and his "Three Psalms," are among the most important creative achievements of this period. The national importance of a composer like Bloch cannot be overestimated. His music is a projection of "being ourselves" in the noblest sense. An empathy for things Jewish is created by his music, just as such a feeling is created for the Finns by Sibelius, and for the Russians by Shostakovich. Far from remaining implicit or confined to the concert hall, this feeling finds a tangible outlet. It manifests itself in a positive and more friendly attitude, and in a sympathetic approach to the meeting and solution of problems where Jewish matters are involved.

Research into the sources and materials of Jewish Music, ancient and modern, has also seen an unprecedented development within the last half century. Pre-eminent among the musicologists who have investigated in this field is A. Z. Idelsohn. Besides having written the definitive *History of Jewish Music*, he compiled a thesaurus of all types of Hebrew and Jewish song in six volumes. Dr. Eric Werner, of the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati has done important work in establishing relationships between Church and Synagogue music in the early centuries of the Christian era, and in investigating medieval Jewish theory and music. Curt Sachs has cast much light on the subject of instrumental and musical usages in ancient Israel. Though good intentions rather than accomplishment are their main achievements thus far, the Jewish Music Forums of New York and Chicago are evidence of an organized interest in Jewish music by professional musicians.

So that there be no misunderstanding, let us say quite bluntly that, except for Bloch, Jewish art music is of negligible importance and value if we contrast it with the great music of Germany, of Italy, of France, or of Russia. It may even be that the ultimate destiny of Jewish musicians is to cultivate and fructify the art in the various lands which they as individuals inhabit. But it is also possible that a Jewish music of universal significance may develop. If there is any such possibility, it can only take place in, and as a result of, the establishment of a Jewish homeland. Otherwise, there will continue to be individual outstanding creations, but nothing approaching a national group or school like that of the Russians, or the French, or the Germans. This may seem to contradict the earlier statement that in spite of dispersion the Jews "possess those attributes which ordinarily result from being together in the same land." But here we

are concerned with the relation of Jewish cultural expression to a particular and enveloping national culture. Integrating factors aid in unifying members of widely separated communities. But the fact remains that in Europe or America, a Jewish composition is a kind of exotic expression foreign to the particular culture, and peripheral to the main body of music. Such a work ceases to be "foreign" only when it is at home with itself and others like itself.

To which culture then, does a Jewish musician owe allegiance—that of his people or that of his land? The question is one involving that dualism inseparable from Jewish cultural activity in a non-Jewish land. For the performer there is not too much of a problem—he plays the best of the repertoire for his instrument; and since the repertoire of Jewish music is so small there is never any problem of choice. For the composer and the writer, however, the problem is more personal and direct. The answer is one which must be given individually in each case. Because any Jewish musical influence has been non-existent for them, many composers will naturally achieve their best work in music that is not Jewish. But those who are conscious and aware of a Hebrew music, are justified in developing that music, no matter in what land they may live. In a recent booklet on Belgian music by Charles Leirens, published by the Belgian Information Center in New York City, there are these words, which are pertinent for us, also. The Great Belgian musicians of the fif-

teenth and sixteenth century, writes Mr. Leirens "were European in the measure in which they remained faithful to the particular cultures which molded them. Let us try to embrace the whole world, to become one with the great community which shall be born of this war but let us at the same time seek to find the roots from which we sprang.—France, England, Belgium, and Holland, to speak only of the western fringe of Europe, possess a glorious musical past with which they are unacquainted, they can only enrich themselves and the community at large by seeking in the contact and study of their national traditions, the meaning and direction of a new Renaissance and a new humanism."

There are great numbers of critics, musicians, and laymen alike who do not know what has been going on in the field of Jewish music. There is the feeling that it has not been necessary to know. This attitude results from lack of knowledge, misinformation, disinterest, and condescension in about equal proportion. A vigorous program of information, and an active support and encouragement of the best in Jewish music will ultimately lead to a fuller appreciation and a greater regard for that music. Much of this program must necessarily wait until the present hostilities have ceased. Meanwhile, there remains the hope that when that time comes, we may once more resume our progress on that path of bright promise which we may still see stretching before us.

The degree of a nation's humanity may be definitely gauged by the nature of its gods. A people whose deities are the authors, directors, and protectors of civil law and order, of justice and wisdom, of grace and propriety, testifies thereby that it belongs to the noblest race, and it cannot avoid being ever more ennobled by such a religion as long as it remains effective.

The German writer, CHRISTOPH MARTIN WIELAND (1733-1813)

Education on Lincoln Street

By DOLPH SHARP

THIS HAPPENED a long time—almost 20 years ago, in that period between the two wars when democracy hadn't quite been made safe, and I was trying to grow up on Lincoln Street, so you would expect things to be better now. I don't know how it is on Lincoln Street—we moved from there some time ago. All I know first-hand right now is this part of the Italian front, but I've heard how it is in other places back in The States, and something's wrong some place.

Sometimes I think of those early nightmarish days on Lincoln Street, and I wonder if maybe there's a lesson in them.

Of course, my name didn't help any, and I wished to hell, at the time, my folks hadn't given it to me. You felt: they can't kill a kid just because of his name, but, by God, they damn near tried it on Lincoln Street.

I was nine years old when we moved. Things had been going well in the store and my mother felt we should move from above it and out of Main Street altogether to bring the kids up in the country, as she called it, three blocks away. She had to fight with pop, but we moved.

As soon as we were half-settled, I started going to the Lincoln Street School. It wasn't as big as the South Street School, but it was newer . . . the bricks were redder and the seats were shinier.

The first day I went to the principal's office alone—I was nine—and gave her my card. From behind her big desk, Miss Vicks, she was what my mother called "a munny woman," looked hard at me and, I don't know why, but I felt trouble coming. She asked me to say my name, just to make sure, I guess, and then she

grunted, "Hmmm," and, "What is your nationality?" "I'm an American," I said, proud. Miss Vicks looked hard at me even more and it let the air out of my chest back into my stomach. "I didn't mean that," she said. "Well, come along," and she had me follow her down the hall.

At room 14 she knocked on the door. The teacher came out, maybe not a munny woman, but a sour old teacher anyway. She said, "Yes, Miss Vicks?" Then she saw me and looked with an eye like the light on the front of a train at night. "Oh."

"A new pupil, Miss Pitch," said Miss Vicks. She patted Miss Pitch on the arm.

"So I see. A new pupil."

"He comes from the South Street School."

Both of them sniffed the air. At first I wanted to sniff too to see what it was. Then Miss Vicks scared the wits out of me by grabbing my head and twisting it so she could look into my ear. "Does your mother ever wash your ears?"

For a minute I didn't answer her. "Does she?"

"Yes, ma'am." I was as clean as any other kid and I was wearing a brand new fancy suit.

"Often?" "Yes, ma'am," I said.

"He says his nationality is American," said Miss Vicks like it hadn't rained all summer and she needed a drink.

Miss Pitch read my name out loud. Then she said, "American," and laughed. With boils, my mother would say.

"Well, I wish you luck with him," said Miss Vicks, giving her one more pat and then going off.

Then Miss Pitch said, "Come in," and we were standing before the whole class.

They all looked so big to me, especially two boys sitting in the row near the door. They didn't look like it was the fourth grade at all. Miss Pitch stopped in the middle of the room and picked her pointer up and banged it against the blackboard. The class became quiet like an electric fan going off.

"This is a new pupil. His name is . . ." and she told them my name. Only she said it funny, even more funny than she had when she read it outside. I didn't understand why she had to do it. They started laughing. I felt hot in my face and cold in my feet and ashamed all over and I wanted to beat it right away without going in any more. It was bad enough at South Street School, but at least they didn't laugh at my name.

They could see I felt ashamed and they laughed more. I didn't look at them, I looked at the floor. The two big boys started yelling my name out too, and this made the class laugh some more and others began saying it too, even some little girls in nice fancy dresses. I looked up and stuck my jaw out. I was as good as they was. I made fists but I didn't hold them up. I looked at Miss Pitch. She was smiling and at the same time trying to keep it in, just like mama did whenever I said anything smart in front of relatives. Only I didn't see that anything smart was said.

Miss Pitch knocked her pointer against the blackboard again. "That's enough, class. Back to business now. We can't let a new pupil disturb us . . . even if he is named A-bra-ham Pondric."

That set them off again; it was the best yet. Then she knocked the pointer real hard until you'd think it would break or crack the blackboard, and their laughter died out like the fan again.

Then she said to me, "We have seats here according to marks. This row near my desk is Rich Row. Those two rows are the Middle Rows, and that last row is the Poor Row." That was where the two big boys were sitting. "You might

belong higher, even in the Rich Row"—she said it like she wasn't going to let me tell her a fib—"but we have found that we here on Lincoln Street are much more advanced than South Street, and I don't want to waste more time now. So you sit there at the end of the Poor Row."

I went and sat at the end of Poor Row. I felt like crying.

Miss Pitch put the pointer on the shelf for chalk at the bottom of the blackboard, and sat down. She took her ruler and banged it against the top of her desk. "All right, class, we'll go on with arithmetic where we left off before we were interrupted."

The boy in front of me turned around and made a mean face. "Abie, Jew baby," he said. "Shut up," I told him. "I'll get you for that," he said, shaking his fist.

Miss Pitch stopped talking, the whole room was quiet like a ticking. Then she said, "A-bra-ham, we are reciting. Perhaps they did that in the South Street School, but here it's considered rude. Stay after school and I'll teach you some manners."

"That's all right," said the boy in front of me. "I'll lay for you."

"You too, George Adams," said Miss Pitch. "Don't think I'm going to lower the standards of my classroom because of a newcomer from downtown."

She kept me after class but she didn't teach me any manners. Unless just sitting there quiet with your hands folded was teaching manners. All the time she was looking at a book. Then when she was through, she said, "I'll overlook today because it was your first day. I don't care what kind of a home you come from. You must behave better in class. If you can't, I don't know what I'll do about it . . ."

When I got out, there was a few kids playing marbles, but nobody from Miss Pitch's class. I started walking home, carrying the books she gave me, geog-

raphy and reading. I walked a couple of blocks, when from out behind a hedge of bushes jumped the big boy, George Adams. "I've been laying for you," he said, just like he promised.

I looked at him and you can bet I was scared. His arms were as big as the top of my legs. But even if he shrunk up until he was only a little guy too, I couldn't fight even with him until my mama got those 25 pounds on me she was trying.

He stood there looking at me for a minute with the thumbs of his big hands stuck into his belt, like he could take his time because he knew I couldn't get away anyway.

I looked at the two sides. He was close to the hedge and there was a tree on the other side. I tried to talk to him. "Why are you mad at me? What did I do to you?"

"You're a Jew-baby, that's what you are. We never had one in our classroom and I don't like them. Asides you got me in trouble with that teacher. You're a teacher's pet."

I was watching his hands. When he said that, he took them out of his belt, made them into fists and struck out at me. I moved just as fast as him. I pushed my new books straight into his face and ducked down. He had to close his eyes and duck his head back too, but he already started his fist and it kept going. It went over my shoulder by the side of my head, not even touching, and he slipped and almost fell over. I wasn't a very good runner, but I was only half as big as him and I got in under his hands and gave him a good kick in his leg and jumped away and ran toward home.

He let out a yowl and lit out after me. That was bad. His legs were twice as big as mine and he could work them a whole lot faster. I didn't have more than a little head-start on him to begin with. Besides, my chest on the left side began to hurt. It always did when I ran fast, and I got tired. Just about a half block

and he was on top of me. I was too tired out to do anything.

I yelled out, "Help!" as loud as I could but I didn't have much breath left. He hit me smack in the nose and I fell down. I could have stood up more but it was better to get it over with. But I was mad. I hated more than anything being hit in the nose, that sort of busted hurt it gave that jumped up like a fire and went back into your head behind your face, and the smell of it inside when the blood started going out. I couldn't yell any more, I was saving my breath. And I was crying, I couldn't help that. The crying coming down my cheeks and the blood down the little place, where the angel said, "Shah!" between my nose and mouth got mixed together and gave me a sort of bloody salty taste.

He was on top of me, his big fat legs riding on my chest like on a horse, squeezing me in so it made breathing even harder, and he began choking me. I could feel my face blowing up and getting purple. I had to breathe! I dug my nails into his wrists. He yanked away his hands and licked his wrists and shook them in the air. "Damn you, scratching like a girl!"

Then he gave me two more punches and he got up and stood over me, wiping off his big mean red face and straightening up his clothes. "Let that teach you, you little kike. Don't make any more trouble, or you'll get worse." He walked a little and stopped and shook his fist at me, and then he walked away altogether, like he had won all the marbles or got 100 in all his tests.

I lay there a while, just resting and crying softly, because it was so hard. Then I sat up and took my handkerchief and blew my nose. There was blood on it and my nose was sore to touch. When I blew again, a little more blood came out. Then I put my dirty handkerchief back and got up. I went back the half block. My new books were lying all over the ground just like George Adams beat them up too, dirty and banged-in on the

top and the pages that were opened over the ground were torn. I picked them up and started walking home. My chest on the left side hurt a little with each step I took and I went very slowly, crying.

That evening, while I was let to lie on the couch, my mother and father talked about it. When my mother made up her mind, my father always said, there was never any changing it. That was why, I guess, when we had an argument in the family, he was never on one side or the other, but always against both sides. "Well, I know what I'm going to do," said my mother. "I just got to do it." My father said, without looking at her or me, "All I know, I never had anybody help me and it was good for me. I came to this country at 16, a penniless boy. I couldn't speak a word of the language. I had to fight all my battles myself. And look at me today."

"I'm looking," said my mother. "Is he going to school to learn something or to get his nose broken. If the broken nose, he better off stay home. They'll kill him. Dead."

"They never kill nobody," said my father. "You'll make a mollycoddle out of him. He's got to learn that's what they do. They beat him up a couple of times and then maybe he'll beat them up."

"That little skinny-ma-rinka! He'll never beat those golem up. They'll kill him first and then what good will that do?"

"They never kill nobody. All I know, I came to this country at 16, a penniless boy. I couldn't . . ."

"Yes," said my mother. "Already you told me 67 times."

I sat up on the couch. "Pop's right. You don't have to go. I will fight the battles." "Ach," said my father. "Shut up. Lie down with your crying face. The egg teaches the chicken."

The next morning I had to wait until my mother got dressed. "Hurry up," I kept saying. "It's late, I'll be late." "Nezza mind," she said in the fancy way when somebody was getting too smart. "We

don't have to be on time. Let them wait for us."

Then, when she was all dressed up in her special clothes, she grabbed my hand and we were off for the Lincoln Street School, taking great big steps and dragging me along. As we came near the school, I pulled my hand away. I didn't want to look like a baby. But my mother grabbed it back again. "What's the matter?" she said. "You ashamed of your mother?" We were almost a block away when the bell rang. "Aw gosh," I said, "now I'll be late." "Nezza mind," said my mother.

When I looked in the door, they were just finishing pledging allegiance to the flag. ". . . one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." "Sssh," I said. "Wait. This is important." "What does that indivisible mean?" asked my mother.

When I saw the class sit down again, I opened the door. "I'll tell Miss Pitch you're here." I walked in.

"Ah," said Miss Pitch, hitting the air like she was swatting flies with her pointer. "Your second day and you're late. What have you to say for yourself?"

I didn't get a chance to say anything for myself. My mother came into the room, big and shiny in her black dress. "I'm Mrs. Pondric," she said, real loud. They could hear it way back in the last seats, but they didn't laugh. Miss Pitch got up and walked to meet my mother, smiling like a witch's false-face for halloween. "Oh, Mrs. Pondric," she said, but she didn't say it the way she said my name the day before. There were very few women bigger than my mother. "We're very glad to see you."

"Abraham's late because he had to wait for me."

"Oh, I understand. Is anything wrong?"

"There is plenty wrong. They beat him up yesterday and tore his new books. See." She took the books from under her arm and held them out for Miss Pitch to see. I wanted to patch up the

books but my mother didn't let me. Miss Pitch went cluck cluck with her tongue and she took the books and put them down on her desk. "You don't have to worry about it, Mrs. Pondric. I'll see that Abraham gets new books."

"It's not the books," said my mother.

I wished they would let me sit down. I tried not to look at the class but I saw out of the corner of my eyes, George Adams was sitting in his seat, looking at me, mad.

"They made his nose bleed and they ripped his suit. He came home so late last night, crying."

"Ooh, what a shame!" said Miss Pitch, bending down to me. "Does it hurt today?" I wished she wouldn't make such a fuss over me. "It's all right," I said. "And who were they? Who beat you? Were they in this class?" I didn't say anything. My mother bent down to me. "Whisper into my ear," she said. I don't know why she had to do that. She already knew. I told her again, in her ear. Then she told Miss Pitch, out loud.

Then Miss Pitch called out, "George Adams. Stand up." George stood, with a mad face. I tried not to look at him, but I could see. It was just like a game for the class to watch.

"Don't you know you shouldn't hit a boy who is smaller than you?"

"And sick too," said my mother.

"Oh, is he sick?" asked Miss Pitch.

"Yes," said my mother like anybody who didn't know it was a blockhead. "He's never been strong."

Miss Pitch made the clucking with her tongue again. "Aren't you ashamed, George? Come here."

George grumbled and came to the front. "Now," said Miss Pitch, "I want you to shake hands." All I wanted was for him to leave me alone. I didn't see why I had to shake hands with him if he was so mean. And he didn't want to shake hands anyway. "Come on," begged Miss Pitch sweetly just like mama did

to get me to take bitter medicine before she got mad and held my nose. George stuck out his hand like it was medicine for him too. It was almost as big as a man's hand. I put my hand in his and it looked so little. His felt sticky too. Miss Pitch said to my mother, "That is the way we do it in America. Now, all the boys' differences are made up with a handshake."

"I hope so," said my mother.

"Now, go back to your seats, boys." We went. Then Miss Pitch turned to my mother. "Don't worry about it, Mrs. Pondric. It's all fixed up. Thank you so much for coming. I'm sorry you had this trouble, but come visit us again any time you wish. We'll always be glad to see you."

"You're a good lady," said my mother, and she went out.

I didn't see George after school that day, but the next morning when we were marched down to the basement for recess, he was in the boys' line in front of me. "What's the idea of snitching on me?" he said. I didn't say anything.

When we were inside, Tom Laffit, the boy who sat in front of George, came over to me. He wasn't as tall as George . . . he was built more sideways, but, boy! he was strong. "Look at the Jew-baby," she said. "Mama's little baby." I didn't say anything, but he kept it up, so I said, "Leave me alone." "Aw, lemme alone," he said. He had a low growly kind of a voice like a bull-dog who had a bad cold, but now he said it high and squeaky. George came up too. "Snitching on me," he said and he shoved me. Another boy came over. He was a smart boy who sat in the Rich Row. "What's the matter?" he asked. His name was Raymond Howell. "We're having fun with this Jew-baby," said Tom. "Leave him alone," said Raymond, "he didn't do anything to you." "What are you horning in for?" asked George. "It's none of your business."

"Boys," yelled Miss Pitch from outside. "Come out. You're taking too much

time." We came out into the line. "What was wrong?" "We was having fun with Ab-rah-ham," said Tom like a smart aleck. "Well, let him alone," said Miss Pitch. "First thing he'll start crying and then his mother will have to come again."

I looked at her. It was like she whipped me across the face with her pointer. But she didn't even look at me. She marched right off because she had so many important things to do that morning. First of all, she had to march us up to class again.

I didn't feel like eating much lunch-time. I just stuck my fork into the potato and broke it up. Then I put a little piece in my mouth and chewed it a long time. My mother looked at my plate. "Why don't you eat?" Then she kind of closed down her eyes like she was examining me. "You having trouble again?" "No," I said, shaking my head so hard it almost threw the potato out. "That teacher still good to you?" "Yes," I said, "she's good. She's sweet." "All right, all right. She ain't that good. Those bad boys making trouble?" I didn't say anything for a minute. Then I said, "No. They're lovely." "Don't yell," said my mother, "I'd just like to be sure." Then she went back to the plate. "I wish you'd eat more." "I'm not very hungry today."

I didn't feel much like going back to school that afternoon, but there was nothing else I could do about it. Well, I told myself, maybe they would leave me alone. Maybe I could sneak out somehow.

When the bell rang, I jumped out of my seat and ran for the door. Miss Pitch yelled, "Wait a minute. Didn't they teach you any better in South Street? We leave the room in orderly fashion." She made me go back to my seat. It was no use. As I came off the school grounds, George was by my side.

"Hey, Jew-baby," he said, grabbing my collar, "what's the idea answering when I didn't know?" "I couldn't help it," I tried to tell him, "She called on me." "You didn't have to answer anyway."

"Well, I got to go home," I told him a story, "My big brother is coming to meet me. Maybe next street," and moved away fast. He moved just as fast. "This is to show you not to make any more trouble." He gave me another hit on the nose and knocked me down. "Don't you dare snitch, or I'll get you."

I had that awful hurt and taste of blood again.

I sneaked in the front way and tried to clean up, but my mother came into the bathroom before I could finish. She looked at me and said only one word: "Again!"

My father kept saying about how he came when he was 16 and penniless and how you had to learn to fight your own battles, but after supper my mother took me and went down across the street to the house of George Adams.

Mama knocked on the door and Mrs. Adams came to it. She was taller than my mother but she was kind of skinny sideways—her bones stuck out, and she had a face like she was better than anybody. "Well?" she said, and she looked down on me. She was the lady who said all those things about the scum and next thing niggers, when me moved into Lincoln Street. "I've come to see about your boy George," said my mother.

Mr. Adams came to the door behind his wife. He was lower than her, but he was fat; he was in his underwear shirt and you could see it. "Just what's the matter?" he said. Even with no shirt at all he kept his head up like he was wearing a high stiff collar like old-fashioned times.

"Oh . . . it's those . . . you know, new people," she told him. "They think they have something against George." "George? What did he do?" "Nothing, I'm sure," said Mrs. Adams. "Only let us come in and I'll tell you," said my mother.

"Well—if you must," said Mrs. Adams, and she pulled herself over a little to the door so we could pass through, but not

enough so that we didn't have to rub against her.

Inside, their house smelled funny, something like the museum my mother once took me to in the city where they had stuffed animals.

They were supposed to be very famous people. They went away back to President John Quincy Adams and his father, President John Adams, second and sixth presidents of the United States, and Samuel. Only, I suppose, the Adamases changed some in so many years.

Mrs. Adams didn't take us into the livingroom. We stayed right in the hall and we didn't sit down. There were no seats and I don't think my mother would anyway. Mrs. Adams said, "Well . . . what is your complaint?" and my mother said, "Two days my boy Abraham came home a bloody nose and dirty and his books torn, and George did it for no reason."

"Why didn't he fight back?" asked Mr. Adams.

"Why don't you fight back Jack Dempsey?" asked my mother.

He got mad. "Listen here, I didn't start this, but I can finish it. I'm a respectable working man." I don't know what kind of work Mr. Adams did, but he didn't work in a store. I think it was something to do with the horse races.

Mrs. Adams said, "George will not lay a hand on your Abraham if your Abra-

ham doesn't tempt him. George is a man!" "Abraham is a more brave boy, little as he is," said my mother. "He didn't want to tell me. But he's such a little bird. He's sick."

"I don't know about anything you say," said Mrs. Adams. George's face always got red but her's got white. "But I do know you people from downtown . . . you store people . . . are always starting trouble. It must be your foreign natures, but you're always making trouble."

"We didn't start anything," said my mother, "and, I'm asking like a lady. All I want you should keep your boy George from fighting Abraham. Abraham never started with him."

Mrs. Adams looked down on me. "Tell your Abie to keep out of George's way and he wouldn't soil his hands with him. Good night!"

"Yes," said Mr. Adams, "good night!", and he slammed the door.

I don't know why they said good night; it was still light outside.

On our way home we passed old Mrs. Leggit who was out calling for her big yellow tabby cat, Banty. She called, "Banty Banty Banty," until it sounded like, "Tyban Tyban." Banty was my friend because I gave her some milk, and old Mrs. Leggit liked me too. And I bet if she had a boy, he'd be my friend too. But, I bet if Miss Pitch had a boy, he would be even worse than George or Tom.

Such are the laws which the Creator has engraved, not only upon the marble of Sinai, but also upon the heart of man. What strikes us, in the first place, is that character of universality which distinguishes this divine code (the Decalogue) from all human codes that precede it. Here we have the law of all nations, of all climates, of all times. Pythagoras and Zoroaster addressed the Greeks and the Medes; Jehovah speaks to all mankind.

FRANCOIS RENE DE CHAREAUBRIAND, French writer (1768-1848)

NEW YORK NOTES

By VERO

ON APRIL 12, 1945, the Jews lost one of their sincerest friends, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Like millions of stunned New Yorkers, at first I refused to believe the rumor that the President had died. Rushing to my home and turning on the radio, at close to six, I heard the commentator say: "Probably no man in contemporary history had as deep an understanding and conviction that the average little man had definite rights to a decent life. He was the man who brought forth into the light the Four Freedoms, the man who thought people should have the right to think what they want, to say what they want, to worship as they please, and above all to have food and shelter in proper proportion to the wealth of the country of which they were citizens."

I saw many people weep in the street. There were no eyes but wet at the Free Synagogue's Memorial Service in Carnegie Hall, when Rabbi Stephen S. Wise mourned his death as though F. D. R. had been part and parcel of Israel: "As one who counts it among the precious privileges of a life-time to have been a friend of the President, I say about this beloved and immortal figure, as my fathers in their ancient and beauteous tongue were wont to say of the man who had passed. *Adonai natan, v'Adonai lakach: y'hi Shem Adonai m'vorach*. God gave Franklin Delano Roosevelt to America; God has chosen to take his mortal presence out of the life of his country and of mankind."

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OUR SYMPATHY TURNED to the First Lady who had notified her four sons of the loss in an unforgettable telegram: "The President slept away this afternoon," it read. "He did his job to the end as he would want you to do." We all shall do our job to the end, Mrs. Roosevelt. Under the new President's leadership, we shall work to accomplish the enormous task that was dear to F. D. R.'s heart, the task for which he strove and died.

We are happy to know that Mrs. Roosevelt will not retire from her own humanitarian work, despite her grief. I heard her talk only a few days before her husband's death, at an inter-racial dinner in the Hotel Commodore, sponsored by the New York Section of the National Council of Jewish Women, for the presentation of its Council House in the Bronx to Negroes of that area. Mrs. Norman S. Goetz, section president, presented the deed of the three-story brick building to Dr. Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary of the service to Negro boys of the Young Men's Christian Association. Situated in the heart of what is now one of the most densely populated Negro neighborhoods, the community center, to be known as Forest House, is valued at \$250,000 with its land and equipment. The council also turned over to the new board of managers \$30,000 as a sustaining fund in 1945-46. Mrs. Roosevelt characterized the gift as "a milestone in the pattern of relations between groups here at home" and expressed the hope that the same spirit that prompted the

transfer would be manifest at the San Francisco Conference.

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SUCH ACTS AND SPEECHES are re-assuring, and we need much re-assurance, for the hydra called Racial Hatred is far from dead, even in this country. Windows of synagogues were smashed again only recently, in Brooklyn and in Waltham, Mass., by unknown hoodlums. At a special meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews at the Waldorf-Astoria, Elmo Roper, director of the Fortune Poll of Public Opinion, warned that America was faced "with a very great revival and renewed virulence of some form or other of Ku Klux Klanism." Anti-Semitism, he asserted, is particularly virulent in urban centers, while anti-Catholicism is prevalent particularly in rural areas and small towns in the Middle West and South. The No. 1 victim in the North as well as the South, he emphasized, probably will be the Negro. The possible riots could be avoided, he declared, if America could be plunged "into a new kind of reconstruction program . . . to keep everyone so busy that he won't have time to look around for a minority to blame." Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president of the conference, wisely held that an attack against any one minority would in the end rebound against all and that, therefore, "enlightened self-interest" dictated that Jews, Catholics, and Protestants stand together against their foes.

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UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, liberalism and humanitarianism scored a big success on March 12, when, in the presence of legislative leaders and the 23-member commission which had drafted the first New York State anti-discrimination bill outlawing racial and religious bias in employment, Governor Thomas E. Dewey affixed his signature to the historic meas-

ure. Thus New York has the distinction of being the first State in the Union to enact an anti-discrimination statute. Its Preamble declares:

"The Legislature hereby finds and declares that practices of discrimination against any of its inhabitants because of race, creed, color or national origin are a matter of State concern, that such discrimination threatens not only the rights and proper privileges of its inhabitants, but menaces the institution and foundation of a free democratic State."

The bill that makes the right to a job a civil right, that bans the "Gentiles Only" ads and applies to all employers (except religious organizations, certain clubs, and the like) will promote good will and eliminate discrimination. A similar measure was adopted beyond the Hudson river, in New Jersey, and similar legislation is under consideration in Massachusetts, Ohio, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Connecticut! Being a realist, I am particularly glad to notice that the captains of industry realize that bias doesn't pay. A representative of the Trustees of the Associated Gas and Electric Corporation testified at the open hearings on the proposed bill: "The Trustees are convinced that discrimination in employment is unprofitable to business . . . If one is seeking forty Grade A stenographers and may choose only from among green-eyed red-heads, the likelihood of having to take Grade B or C stenographers where Grade A is needed is apparent."

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OF A DIFFERENT NATURE, but equally significant is a resolution, recently adopted in this city by Local 16 of the American Guild of Variety Artists. In order to avoid all "racial clichés and caricatures for comedy purposes" it outlined a comprehensive program to be submitted to the various organizations of radio, vaudeville, stage, and night club entertainers

for their adoption. The program consists of the following points:

1. Consider each instance of the treatment of a minority character or racial theme in the light of its positive contribution to the goal of a democratic and peaceful world.

2. Know and understand the people whom we are portraying; depict members of all races as individuals with all the wide range of character and personality traits common to all human beings of every color and creed.

3. Do not base characterizations of members of any race solely on the myth that the races as a whole are inherently shiftless, happy, miserable, superstitious, inscrutable, subservient, anti-democratic etc.

4. Realize that the traditional portrayal of "native" populations as subhuman species is an expression of the fallacy of "white supremacy."

5. Shatter the conventions and traditions which have prevented us from dramatizing the infinite store of material from the history of current struggles for freedom of races and national groups the world over.

6. Never imply through theme, plot, incident, or character that the existing order of racial relationships is complete and satisfactory.

Let us hope that this sound program will be adopted by the parent national organization. The program would prevent the stage from becoming a hide-out for Fascism and other subversive currents. It would end the dangerous jokes about members of minority groups, jokes that, in Central Europe, paved the way for Hitler . . .

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ANOTHER SKIRMISH was won by the forces of democracy when New York University, as a result of a suggestion made by Supreme Court Justice Meier Steinbrink, chairman of the eastern region of the Anti-Defamation League of

B'nai B'rith, eliminated questions concerning religion and nationality from the applications for admission to the school. Chancellor Harry Woodburn Chase declared that this step represented no change in N. Y. U.'s policy, which had always been one of non-discrimination, but simply the omission of requests for data which might lead to wrong conclusions. Simultaneously Columbia University announced that it would omit from its application forms the question concerning the religious preference of students.

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A CLEVER IDEA of how to rub out intolerance comes from the small city of Freeport, L. I., a few miles east of New York City. Actually it goes back to the year of 1940 when Rabbi B. Leon Hurwitz launched both the city's Inter-Faith Clergy Council and the "Freeport Plan." Assisted by the Episcopalian, Catholic and Methodist ministers, the rabbi launched inter-faith meetings, especially among the youth, where all important problems are being discussed candidly. The result: no incidents of intolerance have occurred for a long time! At present, the ministers are launching an inter-faith teen-age newspaper as the latest feature of the excellent "Freeport Plan."

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THE JEWS OF GOTHAM do not forget how fortunate they are, compared with the men and women in liberated Europe who lack not only food but also clothes. An appeal to American Jews in behalf of the United National Clothing Collection was issued by the Joint Distribution Committee and the 22 national Jewish agencies co-operating with it in the drive to collect 150,000,000 tons of used clothing for destitute war-victims abroad. New York's Jews didn't turn a deaf ear to the call, and Mr. Grover Whalen, local chairman of the Collection, praised them for their "magnificent" response to the appeal.

LET US TURN from the world of war to the more peaceful and more durable realm of Jewish culture. Here, the old Latin saying, "Silent Musae inter arma" does not hold true, for Jewish cultural life goes on in New York without any interruption, in defiance of the war. On March 1 we celebrated the 75th anniversary of the Yiddish press in America. Peculiarly, it was Horace Greeley, founder and editor-in-chief of the New York Tribune who helped launch I. Buchner's *Yiddishe Zeitung*, the first issue of which appeared on March 1, 1870. Mr. Greeley, a democrat opposing Grant in his election for a second term of office as President, then sought to gain the support of the Yiddish element. He was defeated, but became the godfather of America's Yiddish press, anyway! At present, New York has four Yiddish dailies and a large number of Yiddish weeklies, bi-monthlies, and monthly papers.

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IN PREVIOUS ISSUES of the *New York Notes* we mentioned some of the festivities to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Congregation Emanu-El. From humble beginnings in a dwelling place on the lower East Side, it now occupies a gorgeous house of worship on Fifth Avenue, facing Central Park. At first strictly orthodox and attended by comparatively impecunious German immigrants, it is now a center of Reform Jewry and among its members are statesmen, scientists, artists, and big businessmen. The 38 simple men, who founded the congregation on April 6, 1845, could hardly foresee that their temple would become a landmark in New York City.

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ON APRIL 7, 1945 quite a few recently arrived immigrants celebrated an anniversary of an entirely different kind, the 35th birthday of a soccer club. But Vien-

na's *Hakoah* was more than just a football club; it was a response to Max Nordau's plea for "Muskeldudentum," to his call for a healthy, physically perfect Jewish youth. The famous football team defeated the best British teams and successfully toured many countries, including Egypt and Palestine. The club had also an athletics-, ski-, and hiking section, and could boast of a wonderful orchestra of its own. In 1938 the Hitlerites occupied the club home and grounds of the *Hakoah*. Its members are now scattered all over the world, but there exists a *Hakoah*-in-exile in New York city.

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SOME PEOPLE simply refuse to get old. One of them is Oscar Straus, the composer. He is still strong enough to argue with those who insist that he is related to Johann Strauss and Richard Strauss. Oscar is a Jew, and writes his name with one "s" only, but it is true that some of the waltzes he composed rank with the "Fruehlingsstimmen" waltz or the "Rosenkavalier" waltz. On March 4 he celebrated his 50th anniversary as an artist at Carnegie Hall. Members of the Metropolitan Opera sang some of his most famous arias, especially from his immortal *Waltz Dream*. The late George Gershwin was among Straus's most ardent admirers. His jubilee coincides with the happy news that the Russians had started liberating his native country, Austria.

Fritz Kreisler is now seventy. But his recent concert proved that his genius had neither suffered by the maestro's automobile accident nor by his age. He is still the king of violinists!

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MAXA NORDAU, now an instructor in drawing for the City College of New York Adult Education Program, exhibited some of her paintings and drawings at a branch of the New York Public Library.

People and landscapes of France, America, and Palestine, were the subjects of her works, which also included several still lifes.

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A NEWCOMER in the field of Jewish life in New York is the Hebrew Arts Committee, a cultural group sponsored by the Zionist Organization of America. The Committee's purpose is, briefly, the following: to foster here in America arts which will give scope to expression of the Jewish spirit in music, theater, the dance, and other artistic fields. Its first undertaking—at New York's Master Institute—was of excellent quality: it was a concert, including in the program several examples of Hebrew and Jewish folk lore music and devoting half its program to the well-known Vinaver chorus. Performances by a dance group and a theatrical performance will follow. The work of the Committee is to include also a broadcast series, "Palestine Sings," for which the first program will consist of a cantata "Our Bialik" written for the tenth anniversary of the Hebrew poet's death.

We have now in America a native Yiddish culture as well as an Anglo-Jewish one. The Hebrew Arts Committee is trying to fill a gap, realizing the fact that, in addition, American Hebrew culture should be nourished right here at home, as part of the Jewish people's self-expression.

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THE WHITNEY MUSEUM of American Art acted as host to a group of European artists who in the last seven years have come to the United States to live and work. The 33 artists in the exhibition are natives of twelve countries; the majority of them reached their artistic maturity in Paris. Many of the refugee artists are Jews, like Marc Chagall, Moise Kisling, Jacques Lipchitz, Mane-Katz, Victor Tischler, and Ossip Zadkine. The museum's curator, Hermon More, correctly stated that "all of them . . . have made a valuable contribution to our cultural life" and that the exhibition recognized "the international spirit which has played so important a part in the American art of our day."

The sad and disgraceful events, which are the immediate cause for our meeting today, have been designated anti-Semitic excesses. They are nothing of the kind. Anti-Semitism commits no excesses. It is in itself an excess. It is an outrage against morality, against justice, against humanity. The man who is shocked by these events does not really understand the nature of anti-Semitism. It is in its very essence an evil, and can only beget evil. Each of the foregoing episodes had to happen. Be not deceived, gentlemen! Should the perpetrators of these wrongs win the upper hand, the guardian angel of mankind would have to hide his face in sorrow, for they would change into frightful deeds what until now have been only words.

DR. HERMANN NOTHNAGEL, famous Austrian physician (1841-1905) in an address, delivered in Vienna in 1892.

WASHINGTON NOTES

By MURRAY FRANK

THE FORUM is pleased to announce a new feature, WASHINGTON NOTES, to be contributed each issue by Murray Frank, Washington correspondent of the *Jewish Journal* and *Daily News*.

CONGRESS finally took steps to defray the expenses of the American representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission. Mr. Herbert C. Pell, our representative, was recently recalled by the State Department on the pretext that Congress failed to appropriate the necessary funds. It has since come to light that there were other reasons as well, involving policy matters towards punishing Axis war criminals, particularly his stand on behalf of German Jews. In March, the House of Representatives approved the State Department's request for \$25,000 to provide full participation by the U. S. in the Crimes Commission until the end of the present fiscal year, June 30, 1945. An additional \$60,000 is being sought by the Department for similar participation during the fiscal year 1945-1946. Meanwhile, Col. Joseph V. Hodgson, U. S. deputy member on the Crimes Commission, continues to represent this country.



ON MARCH 22 and 26, the House Foreign Affairs Committee held hearings on Rep. Emanuel Celler's resolution (H. J. Res. 93) which calls for appointment of a U. S. commission to cooperate with the Crimes Commission sitting in London in the preparation of definite plans for the punishment of war criminals. In reply to a question by Rep. Helen G. Douglas, California, whether the murder of four million Jews in Europe has been designated by the Crimes Commission as a *war crime*, Mr. Pell, the principal wit-

ness, admitted that thus far the mass murder of Jews has not been so designated by the Commission. He stated unequivocally that United Nations representatives on the Crimes Commission are reluctant to list it as a war crime because of legal technicalities and because they are afraid to commit themselves in the matter lest they be accused in the future of not following strict international law procedure. Failure to designate the murder of Jews as a crime and failure to punish the perpetrators of these crimes would, in Mr. Pell's opinion, be detrimental to future world peace.

Spokesmen for a large number of national organizations made impassioned pleas for swift and just punishment of the Nazi culprits who bear direct or indirect responsibility for the slaughter of millions of human beings. The Jewish case was logically presented by the American Jewish Conference, whose spokesmen not only asked that the mass murder of Jews be recognized as a war crime, but also voiced the feelings of American Jewry when they said: "We do not ask for punishment because we seek vengeance. Vengeance will not restore the millions of Jewish dead. We ask it in the name of justice, for we are convinced that civilization must sternly record judgment on the Nazi criminals . . . if war and barbarism are to be prevented in the future."



A NEW SEDITION TRIAL, on a streamlined basis, is in preparation by the Jus-

tice Department, whose efforts to prosecute the defendants of last year's seditious trial ended abruptly because of the death of the presiding judge. O. John Rogge, Justice official in charge of the case, plans to reduce the number of defendants from last year's 29 to about a dozen or less. In this way, it is hoped to speed up the trial and avoid repetition of conditions prevailing at the first trial when the tactics of the defense lawyers obstructed proceedings.

Though it is at this time uncertain, it seems that charges will be pressed against the following: Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze, Herman Max Schwinn, and Hans Diebel, of the outlawed and defunct Nazi Bund in the U. S.; George Sylvester Viereck, German propaganda agent, now serving a jail term; Lawrence Dennis, Fascist "philosopher," sometimes described as "the Alfred Rosenberg of the movement" in this country; Joseph E. McWilliams, rabid anti-Semitic leader of the Christian Mobilizers; George E. Deatherage, founder of the Knights of the White Camellia; William Dudley Pelley, arch-anti-Semitic and notorious leader of the Silver Shirts; and Robert Edward Edmondson, pro-Nazi pamphleteer and propagandist.

Indictments against the remaining defendants will stand for the time being, pending the outcome of the trial of the first group. Among those apparently scheduled for future prosecution are Jew-baiting, Red-baiting, anti-Negro, and anti-alien Elizabeth Dilling of the Patriotic Research Group, Edward J. Smythe of the Protestant War Veterans, Gerald Winrod, publisher of the poisonous sheet "The Defender," and other like-minded "hateriots" and spreaders of Nazi venom.

THE FACT that President Truman has found it advisable to receive a delegation of the American Zionist Emergency Council, headed by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, only one week after his assumption of the

Presidential office is, in itself, an indication of how seriously he regards the Palestine problem. The President had a busy calendar that morning. Within the brief space of less than three hours he saw and conferred with no less than 18 people, including some of the highest officials of our own and of other governments. Another in his place would have found ample reasons for postponing the appointment with the Zionist leaders for a more propitious occasion. But not President Truman. He took the time to review two of the late President Roosevelt's recent statements pledging to effectuate the establishment of a "free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine," then he received the delegation and gave them his assurance that he would carry out the Roosevelt policies in regard to Palestine.

After seeing Rabbi Wise, President Truman announced that invitations had also been extended to Henry Monsky, representing the American Jewish Conference, and Joseph M. Proskauer of the American Jewish Committee, whom the President will see after their return from San Francisco where they represented their respective organizations as consultants to the American delegation at the international conference. It should be readily understood that in no way does the President's announcement diminish the effect and the importance of his early meeting with the Zionist leaders, for it was a foregone conclusion that other Jewish leaders would be accorded the opportunity to discuss with him other problems presently disturbing American Jewry.

CONGRESS IS NEARING a showdown on the question whether to allow continued discrimination against job seekers on racial or religious grounds, or to establish a permanent national organization to deal with the problem and to adopt a permanent national policy outlawing eco-

conomic discrimination. Both houses of Congress are now considering legislation calling for the permanent set up of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), originally created as a temporary war-time measure to deal with discrimination. As early as January 1944, or about a year and a half ago, attempts were made to obtain Congressional approval for a permanent FEPC, but on that occasion and on all other occasions since then the bills remained buried in committee.

A new effort is now under way to get the House bill (H. R. 2232) out of the Rules Committee, where it has been held up since early in March. Much more progress has been recorded in the Senate, where a sub-committee held public hearings on the bill. Representatives of major Jewish organizations urged passage of the bill, including also powers of enforcement for the permanent agency. Characteristic of the argumentation of Jewish spokesmen is the testimony of Mr. Maurice Bisgyer of B'nai B'rith advocating a permanent FEPC "not only because Jews have long felt the effects of discrimination in employment, but as a matter of simple justice to all others who have also been denied equal economic opportunity." The spokesman of the Jewish Labor Committee made his plea "on behalf of all the racial, religious and national minorities in our country, which embrace some 30 or 40 millions of our people. I plead as well for Negroes, for Catholics, for our people of Latin American and Oriental origin. All are subject in varying degrees to discrimination and prejudice in the field of economic opportunity." Many other organizations, including church groups and several large A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, urged immediate passage of the bill.



AMONG THE MOST outspoken voices in Congress attacking the FEPC is that of Rep. John E. Rankin of Mississippi, ad-

vocate of the cause of "white Americanism." In his usual brazen manner he shouted recently on the floor of the House:

"The white Gentiles of this country still have some rights left, and should be protected from the persecutions they are now compelled to endure . . . Remember that something like 98 per cent of the men who are dying on the high seas and the battle fronts of the world to protect American institutions in this war are white Gentiles. Yet when one speaks up in their behalf on this floor, in the press, on the radio, or elsewhere, we hear the whine of "anti-Semitism" or the cry of race prejudice."

We do not profess to know how Rankin obtained his figures cited above, but if he had taken the trouble to look into the situation in an unbiased and unprejudiced manner he would have discovered that a more accurate approximation lists about one-half million Jews and about 750,000 Negroes in America's armed forces. The combined total of the two groups represents over 10 per cent of the Nation's 12 million men under arms—a substantial difference from the two per cent allowed by Rankin. Rankin, however, is not particularly interested in facts or figures, especially when they do not serve his nefarious purposes. Right now his chief interest seems to be in linking up Jews and Negroes as a separate group set apart from his "white Americans" and foment new civil strife and bloodshed. He is still living the Civil War all over again and is aching for a second round. Fortunately, this country is comprised overwhelmingly of people possessed of ideas and beliefs different from those expressed in the perverted Americanism of John Rankin and his ilk.



RENEWED EFFORTS are currently also being made in Congress to abolish the poll tax as a voting restriction in Federal elections in seven Southern states, where

millions of American citizens are denied the right of suffrage. Bills have repeatedly been introduced in Congress since 1939 to abolish the poll tax by Federal act. On two occasions the House passed these bills with huge majorities, only to find later that they were "killed" by a filibuster in the Senate by a small minority of Senators from the poll tax states.

In the present Congress, a bi-partisan coalition of liberal-minded leaders of both political parties has undertaken to obtain passage of the bill (H. R. 7) in the House of Representatives. Since the House Judiciary Committee, to which the bill has been referred, has thus far taken no action on it, a discharge petition has been initiated by the coalition group. In order to get the bill out of the Committee and bring it upon the floor of the House for consideration and a vote, the petition must be signed by a majority of the House members, a majority constituting 218 members. At last reports, 173 members have signed the petition, cutting across every party line and economic bloc and even the solid South. Progress is slow, but the decent people of America will sooner or later triumph over the forces seeking to retard true democracy.



THE UNITED STATES must take a leading role in rebuilding the world on permanent foundations of universal justice, in the opinion of Rep. Louis Ludlow of Indiana.

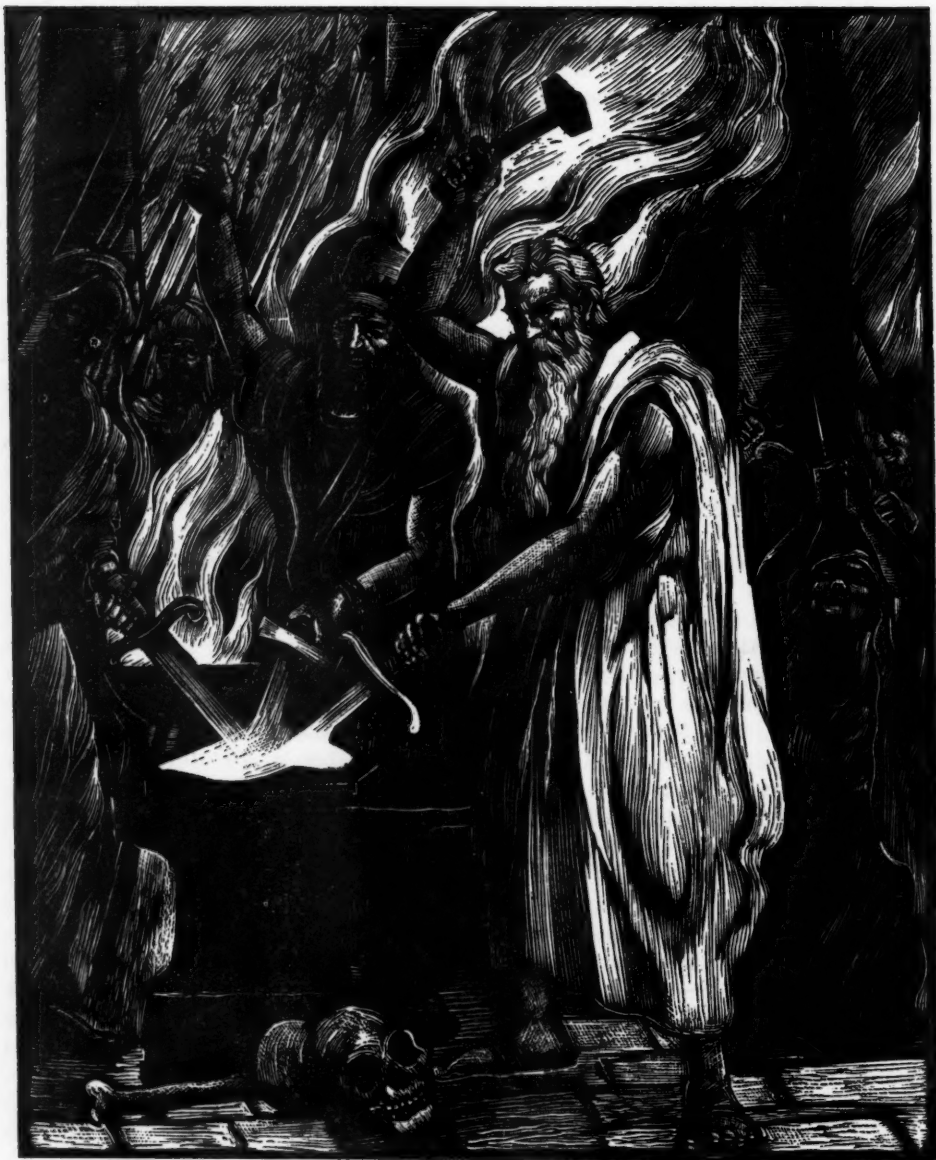
To attain this role of leadership, he has recently suggested to Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius that he appoint a religious advisory council to advise him on the momentous problems of peace, "this council to be composed of eminent religious leaders who could speak in one voice—Protestant, Catholic and Jew—for moral ethics and Christian Judaic spiritual principles in the making of peace."

We live in a Christian civilization, where most of the great nations of this earth profess Christianity and Christian ethics in the relations between man and man. The present world conflict causes one to wonder about our "civilization," about its course in the future, about its meaning and interpretation a generation hence. I am thinking of the 5 million Jews who perished in Europe in our own day for no other reason than that they were Jews. What is awaiting my children tomorrow? Is it any wonder that serious-minded men, like Rep. Ludlow, seek guidance and direction in true "Christian Judaic spiritual principles?" Longfellow, in his beautiful poem *Hiawatha*, struck a chord that is vibrant with meaning today:

"Every human heart is human,
That in even savage bosoms
There are longings, yearnings, strivings
For the good they comprehend not,
That the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in that darkness
And are lifted up and strengthened."

If Israel shows in anything that it is God's people, then it is in this, that it endures martyrdom. For stronger than he who conquers the world is the man who bears martyrdom . . . No affliction, no smart, no curse can destroy that which has by the grace of the spirit been granted to you from the heart of eternity.

A. H. DE HARTOG, Dutch Theologian.



HOWARD SIMON

*And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares,
And their spears into pruning-hooks;
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more.*

ISAIAH, 2, 4.

BOOKS

Fighting Liberal: The Autobiography of George W. Norris. Macmillan Co., N. Y. 419 pp. \$3.50.

Senator Norris' autobiography both depresses and inspires, for it is the political history of the last forty years in the United States. That history is the fight of the people against selfish interests. Under George Norris and a few other liberal leaders, there have been great victories. Also there have been defeats. The fight goes on and must continue to go on. Democracy is an evolving faith. It is a force endlessly in conflict with selfishness and stupidity. Its victory can never be complete. There are setbacks after each partial success. Yet Norris had faith in the American people and in view of his own life, typical of the best that America can produce, we too can have renewed faith.

Norris as boy and young man and during his first years in Congress was violently partisan, unable to perceive any evil in the Republican party or any good in the Democratic party. Very soon in his Congressional life, his eyes were opened and he became an independent, anathema to his party's leaders. It was as an independent that he caught the imagination of the American people, one of a small group of the people's representatives who put the welfare of the nation as a whole above party interest, class interest, and personal interest. He represented his state in the House and in the Senate for forty years. He was attacked, vilified, and fought by all that was worst in his own party and in American life. Yet he lived to see many of his most important reforms realized. The country is the better for his having lived. His non-partisan conduct was an example to thousands of young men and women who have learned to vote independently. If the vicious political partisanship under which he grew to manhood softened in the years of his public life it is to him and to a few others like him that the change is due.

The T. V. A. and the similar authorities which will inevitably come to be are the monument by which he will be remembered though he was instrumental also in other vital reforms: the defeat of Cannonism, the lame duck constitutional amendment, and the doing away of yellow dog contracts which enslaved labor. It is the T. V. A., however, which perhaps best displays the breadth of his social vision and his tenacity of purpose. For the T. V. A. was only incidentally a power project and as such fought to the death by the utility interests. It was an enterprise which, as he saw it and as it has proved to be, coordinated flood and erosion control, reforestation, and the production of cheap fertilizers and electricity for the improvement of the way of life of rural America throughout an entire region.

A brief chronology of the T. V. A. will reveal the tenacity and courage with which Norris carried on his fight. After the close of World War I Congress looked into the question of completing the Wilson Dam, initiated as a war project to produce cheap nitrates. Norris fought the proposed abandonment of the project, and in the succeeding Congress, secured an appropriation for its completion. Thereafter for twelve years he fought to keep the power sites from reverting to private hands and for extension of the whole T. V. A. for wider usefulness. In 1927 he finally succeeded in getting from Congress funds to complete Dam No. 2 at Muscle Shoals. The bill was pocket vetoed by President Coolidge. In 1929 a similar bill was vetoed by President Hoover and the veto was sustained. Not until 1933 was the T. V. A. a reality, when the bill, having passed a third time, was signed by President Roosevelt. There remains the ceaseless fight to keep the T. V. A. out of the hands of politicians and from becoming a source of patronage.

The greatest single disappointment of his career in Congress, was, says Senator Norris, the failure of his proposed bill to

send food to suffering Europe after the last war, under conditions which would have benefited the American farmer and underfed Europe equally. The cotton interests, the high tariff advocates, and the shipping companies prevented what was both profitable and humane. Special interests. If the United States, with government of the people, by the people, and for the people, perishes from the earth, it can be carved upon the headstone: Slain by Special Interests.

Norris has an exhortation for us of today, here and now:

"In the peace that will follow the war, we must be on guard to see that the great corporations, the monopolies, and the aggregates of wealth shall not extort from the men, women, and little children of the world who will be on the verge of starvation, and dependent chiefly upon us for food and clothing. If we fail, then our failure will return to us with double penalty."

CARL GRABO

The Jewish Refugee, by Arie Tartakower and Kurt R. Grossmann. Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress. New York. 676, ix pp. \$5.00.

Arie Tartakower and Kurt R. Grossmann, refugee scholars from Poland and Germany respectively, have composed a valuable supplement to Sir John Hope Simpson's classic treatise on the refugee problem. They have assembled, from books, periodicals, newspaper items, statistical publications, and government reports, all the facts and data concerning Jewish refugees that are available at this time. Thus, they cover at once a narrower and a wider field than the one previously covered by Sir John's report. Narrower, because Sir John was speaking of refugees of many origins, but wider, because the two Congress authors are dealing in more detailed fashion with the specific problems that are confronting the Jewish refugees.

The treatment of the topic is comprehensive. After a survey of Jewish refugee movements during and after World War I, the present Jewish refugee problem, mainly from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Italy, but also from other countries, is characterized. The countries of refuge and settlement are reviewed at length, especially Palestine, the United

States of America, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, and some minor centers, among which the Latin American republics appear most important. Separate chapters present the statistical data pertaining to Jewish refugees, and survey the activities of various forms of intergovernmental aid, and Jewish private organizations. The sociologist regrets that the chapter on "Fundamental Problems in the Life of Refugees" which deals with such items as occupational and cultural adjustment, is much too short to provide the reader with more than the bare outlines. Case studies from various countries are urgently needed to fill this gap.

In the final chapter, the authors outline what appears to them as the solution of the problems of the Jewish refugee. Repatriation, absorption in the countries of temporary refuge, and emigration are reviewed whereby mass settlement in Palestine is emphasized. At any rate, the problem is considered too large and too complex to be capable of a solution without international cooperation. Appendices, containing mainly memoranda to various unsuccessful international conferences, bibliography, and index are attached. The book is certainly indispensable to anyone who wants to acquire more than superficial information on the most pressing Jewish problem of our time.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Must Men Hate? by Sigmund Livingston. Harper & Brothers, \$2.50.

Here is a book that should have been written long ago, and now that it has been written, we Jews may congratulate ourselves that the work was undertaken by a man who did not stop until he had unearthed the roots of anti-Semitism and exposed them to public view. Every page of Mr. Livingston's volume is illuminated by his thorough knowledge of the subject and by his conviction that in the end justice will prevail. "I have an abiding faith," he states, "that religious prejudice and mass hatred will be vanquished, in time, by reason and truth."

The history of anti-Semitism in Europe goes back to the times of the Crusades, prior to which persecution of Jews was practically unknown. The psychosis of these so-called holy wars produced the first pogroms, as the masses, inflamed by their fervor to kill men of another

faith, found an outlet for their bloodlust closer to home. These pogroms had to have some sort of excuse, and it shows poor imagination on the part of the killers that they levelled the same charges against the Jews which once had been invoked against their own forefathers. Jews and early Christians alike were accused of using human blood for ritual purposes, even of eating children. These charges, although refuted again and again, never seemed to change. As late as 1870, Christian missionaries in China were accused of similar crimes, and the great massacre of Kishinev of 1903, perhaps the worst mass murder of Jews prior to Hitler, was based on the same monstrous lie.

One of the most interesting of Mr. Livingston's chapters is the one devoted to forged documents, such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which have repeatedly been used to arouse and spread anti-Jewish feeling. The *Protocols* were quickly proved spurious, but the falsehood had already sunk in. It would be hazardous to believe that even now we have heard the last of this outrageous forgery.

Hatred, our author believes, is not inherited but is acquired. Children do not hate, if left to themselves, but unfortunately, poisonous seeds are often implanted into their plastic minds. Many juvenile books, such as nursery rhymes, *Grimm's Fairytales*, and the *Arabian Nights*, contain slighting references to Jews which, although not written with malicious intent, are bound to make a lasting impression. As the child becomes adolescent, it reads the story of the *Merchant of Venice*, which Shakespeare took from other sources, but told in reverse so as to please his public; for in the original version it had not been the Jew but the Gentile who insisted on his pound of flesh. And so on into maturity, the youthful mind is constantly subjected to literature which, intentionally or otherwise, has the cumulative effect of anti-Jewish propaganda.

Mr. Livingston shows that in the discovery of America, in its early pioneer life, in its wars, the Jews made a record to be proud of; and in science, art, and philosophy their role of honor also shines brightly. But rarely does the public emphasize the Judaism of a great man; only when a Jew is guilty of a misdeed, his racial origin is carefully pointed out,

thus adding fuel to the ever-smoldering fires of anti-Semitism.

It seems that in some quarters Jews are subjected to adverse criticism, no matter what they do. They are condemned for being Communists, and simultaneously are condemned for being Capitalists, although they cannot possibly be both; as a matter of fact, their percentage in either group is relatively small. They are called war-mongers, and they are called pacifists, although no proof has ever come forth that as a race they are either. Lloyd George in 1942 put it this way: "If they are rich, they are birds of prey; if they are poor, they are vermin; if they are in favor of war . . . they want to exploit. . . . If they are anxious for peace, they are . . . cowards . . ."

Anti-Semitism affects both Jews and non-Jews, for hatred of any minority eventually spreads to other minorities, be they Catholics, Mormons, or other sects or races which have chosen paths of their own. Mr. Livingston believes Gentiles should help in an all-out effort to crush anti-Semitism, because once hatred has been nursed and pampered, it may easily turn against its masters. Jews should be ready to answer every accusation truthfully and to furnish facts to puncture the falsehoods which have saturated the public mind. Equally important, they should use their moral power to control individuals who are apt to incur reproach. By such concerted efforts a cure of this age-old prejudice may be effected, but it will be a long-term process, just as a disease of long standing only yields to long and patient treatment.

Some may disagree with the author on minor matters, such as that anti-Semitism in America is a late import from Europe, while in reality it was strong even during Lincoln's time. But no criticism can detract from the value of this excellent book, which embodies much fine research and is written in so splendid a style and yet with such praise-worthy restraint. No one, whether Jew or Gentile, should miss reading it; Jews will find it difficult to find a better present than this volume to give to their non-Jewish friends.

Mr. Livingston has earned the gratitude of all Jewry for this work. In a larger sense he has earned the gratitude of the entire thinking world, especially at a time when it is about to emerge from the nightmare of Hitlerism.

OTTO EISENSCHIML

An American Program, by Wendell L. Willkie. Simon and Schuster. 58 pp. plus Foreword and Publisher's Note. Price 25c. Bound in cloth and boards \$1.00.

This is the political testament of Wendell L. Willkie. All Americans should read it again and again, until we have absorbed its large lessons of national generosity, truth, and justice. It is simply written. While it does not have the dramatic appeal of *One World*, the stirring narrative, shrewd portraits and lively colloquies, it has a power and fervor of its own.

Wendell L. Willkie never ceased to grow. He seemed to be reaching for the stars, something beautiful and stirring in the distant skies, when death took him from us. This collection of his last writings was released from the presses at the very time that his mortal remains found repose at Rushville, Indiana.

Under date of September 25, 1944, he demanded, in his final words, "meaningful statements," rather than lush generalities, "from those who would be our leaders." "For our attitude on our racial minorities and on our international obligations will constitute a test of our sincerity at home and abroad and of our ability to bring about, with other nations, a world of peace and security."

The pamphlet includes the seven articles he published before the political conventions of 1944 in the hope of stimulating progressive action, the suggested platform which he was never permitted to present before the Republican conclave, and the two articles he wrote for *Collier's* on foreign affairs and the rights of Negroes. He comes out boldly in favor of federal power, rather than states' rights, though he is opposed to the abuse of authority. He scoffs at those who would use government for their own selfish ends and declares himself as in favor of "responsible enterprise," rather than so-called "free enterprise." This means that he is opposed to everything that fosters monopolies or restricts international trade. He is in favor of an all-inclusive program of social security, going even beyond the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill. His goal is both protection and opportunity for all peoples. He realizes that there must be a large measure of governmental control of domestic and foreign trade after the war if we are to compete successfully with the state economies of Europe. He

is strongest on the subject of foreign policy, believing that the United States should frame and pursue a foreign policy that will give us the material, the political, and the moral leadership of the world. This will come, he says, not through imperialism, but through a true council of nations, having the power to maintain peace and to assure international justice.

These words are written in the present tense; but, alas, Wendell Willkie can no longer crusade as a living political figure. One can only hope that his heritage is such that Americans of all political faiths will rally around his still vibrant program. Willkie regarded himself as a Republican but he transcended partisanship. His was a voice of the independent and liberal forces of America. As such, he will always have an honored place in our memories and will inspire our words and deeds.

ELMER GERTZ

Racial State, by Gerhard Jacoby. Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress. New York. 355 pp. \$3.00.

Racial State deals with the German Nationalities Policy in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia after the Nazis had assumed power in the region. The Institute of Jewish Affairs must be congratulated both upon the selection of the topic and the choice of the author. The topic is of the widest significance. Bohemia-Moravia is an old battleground of nationalities where on neither of the two historic contestants has been able to gain undisputed mastery for a protracted period of time. In the 19th century, the region became the testing ground of innumerable legal compromises, with the result that bitterness and resentment, on both sides, grew into open hostility. The outcome of World War I brought victory to the Czechs, but this victory was reversed after the Munich agreement of 1938 and the subsequent occupation of the country by Hitler's armies.

Gerhard Jacoby's story, carefully compiled from official Nazi documents, sets in at this moment and proceeds toward a thorough discussion of what is called "the outstanding example of a non-German population forced to live under the laws and regulations dictated by the Nazi *Herrenvolk* idea." We should like to add that it is the outstanding example for the

application of the principles of colonial rule, hitherto practiced only on colored populations in "backward" regions, to a literate people of European extraction and civilization. This characterization bears in itself the contention that the experiment was sure to evoke the strongest opposition, that this opposition, in turn, inevitably led to more full-fledged oppression, and that this oppression bore in itself the seeds of ultimate failure. This becomes exceedingly clear from Mr. Jacoby's treatment. He discusses first the method of segregation, second the method of depopulation, as practiced in the "Protectorate," to end up, under the heading "The Failure of Force," with a personal appraisal of the hangmasters Neurath, Heydrich, Daluge, Frick, and Frank. Statistical tables, legal documents, bibliography, and index are attached.

Throughout the discussion, the three-fold treatment of Germans, Czechs, and Jews is emphasized, with the Germans on top and the Czechs on the bottom of the social structure, while the Jews are considered outcasts. However, the historical interpretation does not come up to the excellence of the legal description. This is especially true with regard to the Jews. Their plight is by no means a matter of recent concern only. Precariously placed between two hostile nationalities, they experienced all the advantages and dangers of Galut existence before they met with the bitter end of extinction. Likewise, if it had been pointed out that Bohemia provided the original breeding ground for the idea of the racial state as well as the stage for its final execution, it would have been possible to retrace the swift-moving tragedy of these last seven years to its still unrevealed sources.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Foreign Influence in American Life, edited by David F. Bowers. Princeton University Press. 254 pp. \$3.00.

Since the United States is a nation of immigrants, the eight essays comprising this symposium really are commentaries on as many different phases of our sociological history as a whole, not just as it has affected and been affected by the recent arrival. Nevertheless, the "jumping off place" of the first five essays is the alien, and the following paragraph from Stow Persons' "The Americanization

of the Immigrant," the second essay, pretty well summarizes the problem as all the writers see it:

With the appearance of a democratic faith there also emerged the ideal American type figure in whom the faith would receive expression. The ideal American was imagined as being of British stock and English-speaking. He tended to be equalitarian in his social and political thinking and even more so in his immediate social relations. He was an individualist; ambitious in a material sense; optimistically devoted to *laissez faire* in economics and politics; fairly scrupulous in business but not possessed of a strong social conscience outside of his group. In private life he was puritanical, idolizing his women and imposing fairly close social restraints upon them. In religion he tended to combine liberalism with mysticism, producing what Horace Kallen later called a new combination of "smug devoutness and secular spirituality." These were the qualities most prized by Americans. In professing allegiance to them they were forging another important social common denominator.

From different viewpoints, David F. Bowers in "The Problem of Social and Cultural Impact," James G. Leyburn in "The Problem of Ethnic and National Impact From a Sociological Point of View," Frank D. Graham in "Ethnic and National Factors in the American Economic Ethic," and Oscar Handlin in "The Immigrant and American Politics," discuss how the newcomer has attempted to overcome the prejudice against him because he failed immediately to become "the ideal American." Leyburn summarizes as follows:

Despite temporary discriminations and injustices, we have in the long run afforded our immigrants equal opportunity, full citizenship and equality. And now, in this present crisis, we are being repaid with the loyalty of our so-called 'enemy aliens' and of those of foreign stock. It is conceivable that our American experience might be taken as a model for post-war Europe.

All of the contributors take sizable slaps at anti-alien and race prejudice, with the usual debunking of the influence of "blood" as opposed to culture. The volume grew out of an undergraduate conference under the auspices of the Program and Study in American Civilization at Princeton university, so it is mostly familiar in content. Although elementary, the book is exceedingly well written and edited and is a first rate compendium to give to a student or to someone with a phobia concerning the alleged "alien menace." In the last three essays particularly ("Foreign Influences in American Art," by Donald Drew Egbert; "The American Literary Expatriate," by R. P. Blackmur, and "Hegel Darwin and the

American Tradition," by David F. Bow-ers, who edited the volume), the cynic will be left gasping at the realization that he is indebted to "some foreigner" for almost every idea that has become important in this country.

Since, as several of the writers point out, intolerance becomes acute during times of crisis, publication of this contribution to understanding is timely. Many who read and use it will remark, "I'm glad to have all of this in one place at last, and put so simply and clearly." Because the last 79 pages are devoted to "critical bibliographies" roughly related to the eight essays, the volume is an extremely valuable reference book.

CURTIS D. MACDOUGALL

Labor Lawyer, by Louis Waldman. E. P. Dutton and Co. 394 pp. \$3.50.

The appearance of *Labor Lawyer*, the autobiography of one who is alleged to have swung from the left to the right, at a time when America is seeking a pattern for economic life, is a timely contribution to the cauldron of opinion from which we hope a true liberal viewpoint will emerge. We have here the case history of a Socialist who broke with his fellows because they became too "red."

Labor Lawyer commences in the familiar weave of the immigrant lad who left eastern Europe for the United States to seek freedom and opportunity in a new land. The story of Louis Waldman from the time he left his native village in the Ukraine and his arrival in New York City in 1909 at the age of 17, is a chronicle that has been many times told before. It is not an idyllic story. It is a picture of sweat shops and strikes, of tenements and hall bedrooms, of disappointment and despair and policemen's clubs. It is the story of the labor pains and the human misery that accompanied the development of industrial America.

Two dollars a week, six days a week, 10½ hours a day in an unventilated loft operated as a chandelier factory—this was not the America of which Waldman dreamed. A hunk of rye bread and half a herring for supper. A restless night in a hot, dingy cell atop five flights of rotting stairs, shared with another boarder—this was not the land of promise he envisioned.

It was only natural for Waldman, like so many thousands of confused, bewildered, and disappointed immigrants, to

turn to the one party that sympathized with the worker and promised relief. Following the tragic fire of the Triangle Waist Company when 147 girls perished and hundreds of others were injured in a fire-trap sweat shop, Waldman heard Morris Hillquit address the memorial meeting. He was converted to Socialism on the spot. From then on Socialism was for him, as it was for the masses of the exploited, education, inspiration, philosophy, religion, and hope. The future, from that time on, could be interpreted only in terms of the "movement."

The author's application to study in night school plus his natural talents as a public speaker and leader made his rise in the Socialist movement rapid. Seven years after his arrival in New York, the immigrant sweat-shop worker, clothing cutter, and now engineer, found himself nominated for the state legislature on the Socialist ticket. The following year he, together with nine other Socialists, was elected to the New York State Assembly. Two years later he was one of five elected Socialists who were excluded from the State Assembly by their Republican colleagues in a wave of post-war reaction. This blatant violation of constitutional government became a national scandal. Cast in the role of martyr and hero, Waldman emerged as one of the leaders of his party.

This work is most valuable, historically, for its first hand study of the decline of the Socialist Party as a political and economic force in the United States. As an active leader in the Party, Waldman was himself one of the participants in the drama. His account of the split between the right wing and the left wing, called the militants, of the Socialist Party is written with considerable fire and passion. As one of the leaders of the right wing, Waldman details the bitter struggle of 1934, 1935, and 1936 that presaged the death of the Socialist Party as a force in American politics.

Much of the idealism that made the Socialist movement the "New Deal" of the first three decades of this century is captured by the author. Socialism then was more than a political party; it was a crusade for reform. In the pages of this book, all playing a part in that crusade, one encounters such famous names as Gene Debs, Leon Trotsky, Bob La-Follette the elder, Seymour Stedman, and Morris Hillquit, and such contemporaries

as Hillman, Dubinsky, La Guardia, Roosevelt, and Norman Thomas.

The book is not devoted, as the title suggests, mainly to labor law. In the course of his practice as a lawyer, Waldman represented a number of labor unions, but the book is not a history of the labor movement except as, in its early years, labor was intertwined with the Socialist movement. Waldman's first love was Socialism and it is this economic and political philosophy that forms the connecting cord that binds together the occasionally disconnected ends of his narrative. Properly speaking, the book would be more aptly entitled "Socialist Lawyer."

The technique employed by Arthur Garfield Hays in *City Lawyer* of weaving important cases into the biographical narrative is followed by Waldman—and with equal effectiveness. The most interesting of these, oddly enough, are not labor cases. The chapters devoted to the court-martial of Corporal Robert Osman and the suicide (or murder, as the author contends) of the controversial figure, General Walter G. Krivitsky of Russian Communist fame, are of special interest.

The story of Waldman as a liberal champion of the common man, alas, has its denouement. He split with Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party, which became too radical for him. He left the American Labor Party after losing in a test of strength with Sidney Hillman. It was too leftist for him. He wrote a "Communist scare" article for the *Saturday Evening Post*, just prior to the 1944 national election, denouncing the C. I. O. and the P. A. C. which would do justice to the Hearst, McCormick, and Gannett press. In this article he hails Martin Dies as an arch foe of American Communists, forgetting to mention that Dies is also an arch foe of all that is progressive and liberal in American life. Presently Waldman is identified with the Liberal Party in New York.

A number of adverse reviews of this book have appeared based upon the author's "swing to the right." When writing of communists, he literally sees "red." This phobia undoubtedly upsets his sense of balance. Only a generation or so back, the word "socialism" had all the horrid implications now conjured up by the word "communism."

The author defends his position as a conservative socialist with considerable

vigor, but, nevertheless, the thought lingers: Have the others swung so far to the left or has Waldman moved to the right?

DAVID F. SILVERZWEIG

Freedom Is More Than A Word, by Marshall Field. University of Chicago Press. 180 pp. \$2.50.

Marshall Field's first book, *Freedom Is More Than A Word*, is good merchandise in the Field tradition. It is too bad that we don't have a book by Col. R. R. McCormick with which to compare it, especially because of the *Chicago Tribune's* definition of freedom.

Mr. Field gives his credo in sections entitled: A Society of Free Men, Freedom of Expression, Efforts to Promote Freedom (*PM*, *Chicago Sun*, AP Case), and Faith in Human Possibilities. This book is likely to become the handbook of *Chicago Sun* and *PM* writers, and more important, the guidebook for Marshall Field IV, now in the U. S. Navy, to whom the book is dedicated.

Since Mr. Field is both a Jeffersonian democrat and a practical newspaperman of considerable means he has come to a realistic and progressive conception of freedom. This is in contrast to the pacifist and big corporation ivory tower conception which holds—"the less government the better." Mr. Field is in the fight for democracy and that means utilizing the government to provide full employment, to protect the Negro and Jewish minorities against fascist incitements, and to guarantee freedom from reactionary monopoly control of the press and radio distribution of news and opinion.

Mr. Field's dedication to his son reads: "To my son Marshall—one of those millions of Americans who by their fortitude have kept alive the right to discuss what freedom is—and what it may become." Civil Liberty is as dynamic as human society, and today society is in a period of rapid change. Rights and freedom are not absolutes nor abstractions.

Mr. Field wants to help "make democratic freedom more than a word" by backing a commercialized press in New York and challenging a press monopoly in Chicago. He believes in the infinite possibilities of progress by the people. To this end the press should devote itself and other changes must be made. He says, "There is, of course, no such thing

as an inherent right in private property. Theories to such an effect, like theories concerning the divine right of nobility, were invented by propagandists to justify otherwise untenable positions. What private property any of us enjoys represents the acquiescence of society in our private control of it. It is a privilege Western society has traditionally granted to its stronger or more fortunate members, and like every privilege, it carries with it certain obligations as a kind of payment for the privilege. Those who neglect the obligations, I am convinced, speed the day when this privilege will be curtailed or perhaps denied." Amen.

Mr. Field's book should be read by the members of Congress, the judiciary, and all officials in our democratic government. In the foreword, Mr. Field says:

The enemy is always the same, and—for lack of a really inclusive word—we call him Fascist or authoritarian. Today he wears a German or a Japanese uniform; tomorrow he may be an industrialist or a labor leader or a newspaper publisher. In essence he is a state of mind, an attitude which hates, scorns, and resists the efforts of the people to be masters in their own house . . . Along the road toward the expansion of popular rights lies a rejuvenation of what we have known in this country as democracy and the spreading of its opportunities and privileges to all of us. This expansion we must nurture and protect.

You should read and heed *Freedom Is More Than A Word*.

IRA LATIMER

Vilna, by Israel Cohen. Philadelphia. The Jewish Publication Society of America. 531 pp. \$2.50.

The history of Vilna is more than the history of a local Jewish community. All the social and cultural forces of East European Jewry have found full expression in this important center: traditional Talmudic scholarship, the Haskalah (Enlightenment), Hebrew and Yiddish literature, Socialistic movements of the Jewish workers, such as the *Bund*, and the Zionist movement. The history of Vilna, the "Jerusalem of Lithuania" is thus in large part the history of East European Jewry.

Although there is a considerable literature dealing with certain aspects of Jewish life in Vilna, this is the first comprehensive history, in any language, of the Jewish community of Vilna from its earliest times to the present day. The idea of writing it suggested itself to the author when he first visited the city. It exercised so fascinating a spell that he immediately

began to interest himself in its Jewish aspect.

The first five chapters of the book deal with the period from 1350-1795, the period of Lithuanian and Polish rule. The political and legal questions of this period are carefully presented. The author fully discusses the privileges granted to the Jewish community by the Lithuanian dukes and the Polish kings. The royal franchises gave the Jews the legal basis for their economic activities. However, these franchises were violated by the Christian burghers. The ensuing struggle between the burghers and the Jews is characteristic of the history of many a Jewish community during the Middle Ages.

It is during this period of Polish rule, that the Jews of Vilna developed their system of self-government, and gained religious and political leadership. These achievements are adequately presented by the author. Much valuable material will be found in the chapters dealing with the Jewish quarter, communal administration and organization, the Kahal and its finances, Vilna as a citadel of culture, etc. Among the best chapters are those on the Vilna Gaon and the fight against Hasidism which stirred Polish Jewry during the latter part of the 18th century.

The transfer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and of a large part of Poland to the Russian empire involved the Jews of Vilna not only in a change of government but, what was much more serious, in a change of treatment. There was a fundamental difference between the attitude of the kings of Poland and that of the tsars of Russia. The kings, with insignificant exceptions, were "tolerant and benevolent," respected the religion and culture of the Jews, favored their separate communal organizations and showed some solicitude for their economic welfare. The tsars, apart from ephemeral instances, were reactionary and intolerant, fanatical foes of both Judaism and the Jewish people, and embittered the lives of their Jewish subjects by barbarous edicts. Another consequence of the change of regime was that under Russian rule (1793-1914) the political history of Vilna and its Jewish community was no longer as distinctive as it had been until then. Hence the story of the vicissitudes of the Vilna community on the political plane becomes, in the main, identical with that of the Jews in Russia in general. It

is principally in the sphere of intellectual and literary activity in which the Jews of Vilna displayed a striking leadership and fertility of creation, as well as in the part that they played in the Jewish national and labor movements, that the history of Vilna Jewry henceforth presents an individual character.

Beginning with the First World War, Vilna was the scene of swift political changes which brought new tribulations to the Jewish community. After the German occupation, Vilna was briefly held by the Poles, the Lithuanians, and the Red Army until, in 1920, troops of the Polish army invaded the city. It remained under Polish rule until the outbreak of the present war. In September, 1939, it was seized by the Russians, who ceded it to the Lithuanians. When the Germans attacked Russia in June 1941, they became the rulers of the city. In true Nazi fashion, they annihilated the Jewish population; Vilna, the great Jewish center, is no more.

The author devotes much space to the cultural life, its achievements and institutions. The information on the cultural life of the masses of the people, however, their interests and pursuits is rather scant. Similarly, the sections describing economic activities are weak, and it seems that the author has not fully exhausted the source material and interpretations available in this field. Perhaps this was too big a task for the first comprehensive history of the Jewish community of Vilna.

"Legend has it that when Napoleon, who was so impressed by the Jewish aspect of Vilna that he exclaimed: 'This is the Jerusalem of Lithuania!' stood on the threshold of this temple (the Great Synagogue) and gazed at the interior, he was speechless with admiration." Vilna's Jewish quarter and its historic monuments have always fascinated foreign visitors. Now that these monuments have been destroyed, the author's description of the synagogue courtyard and other places of historic interest is of special interest and value. We are grateful to the Jewish Publication Society for the reproductions of some of these monuments.

The author has dedicated his volume "to the memory of the tens of thousands of Jews of Vilna who were martyred by Nazi barbarity." This book is indeed a fitting memorial.

E. L. EHLMANN

Walter Clark, Fighting Judge, by Aubrey Lee Brooks. University of North Carolina Press, \$3.00.

With some propriety, this volume is dedicated to the Supreme Court of the United States, "which now reflects the views of Walter Clark." It is not that the orientation of the present Supreme Court is to be attributed directly to Chief Justice Clark, whose death in 1924 ended thirty years of service on the North Carolina Supreme Court. That distinction, if it may be claimed by any individual, rightly belongs to the late Justices Holmes and Brandeis. Walter Clark, however, brought a progressive outlook to the highest tribunal of his state, and his reputation as a fearless liberal extended beyond the borders of North Carolina.

As with Holmes and Brandeis, Clark's views were frequently expressed in dissenting opinions. Nor did he confine his punches within the narrow limits of court decisions. Contrary to the prevailing notion that a judge should refrain from non-judicial controversy, he expressed his fighting views in numerous writings and addresses. He refused to surrender his right and duty as a citizen to speak out against injustice.

A Jeffersonian democrat, Clark had implicit faith in the informed judgment of the people, and frequently wielded his cudgel on behalf of the common man. He pointed out the dangers of the accumulation of wealth in a few hands, and preached a more equitable distribution of wealth and prosperity.

The Chief Justice had little faith in progress through the courts. The doctrine of *stare decisis*, with its reliance upon precedents, oriented the judges toward the past. Judge-made law generally represented the convictions of an earlier era. Reforms could be achieved only by the people through legislative enactment. He accordingly opposed any increase in the power of the judiciary over the legislature, since it would diminish control by the people over their government.

Justice Clark was a severe critic of the federal judiciary. He advocated abolition of life tenure of federal judges and challenged the power of the federal courts to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional. The life tenure of judges, especially when coupled with the power to invalidate legislation, was viewed as a

device whereby big business interests were able to thwart the will of the people. Since court appointees have as a rule been successful lawyers retained in the service of great corporations, they reflected in their decisions the convictions and economic views of their former clients. The "five elderly lawyers," who as a majority of the United States Supreme Court had been nullifying legislation dealing with the country's economic life, were accused of legislating improperly their own economic views upon the nation.

The American Tobacco Trust and the railroads, then well on the way toward control of the economic and political life of the state, were particular objects of his attacks. He thereby incurred the bitter hatred and opposition of the representatives of entrenched wealth. Friendship did not deter him, and many of his friends were transformed into determined opponents.

Clark carried on a crusade against the restrictions imposed upon women by the common law. He called for equal pay for equal services; full control by married women of their own property; elimination of the right of husbands to chastise their wives; equality of right in the custody of children; the same grounds for divorce; equal suffrage, and equality of right to hold office. His efforts were a significant and important factor in the ultimate emancipation of the women of North Carolina.

In deciding for a plaintiff who was abused because he was a Jew, Justice Clark defended the Jewish people and concluded: "Whatever the shortcomings of an individual, it is strange that in this day of enlightenment such prejudices as are shown in this case should survive against the race to which the plaintiff belongs."

Labor regarded Justice Clark as an able and good friend. He favored the right of workers to organize, advocated minimum wage and maximum hours legislation, and protested the abuse of injunctions in labor disputes.

With only partial success, he fought tirelessly for improvements in the administration of justice, and the speedy disposition of litigation. The practice of sending cases back for a retrial on immaterial technicalities he roundly criticized. He sought adoption of the now

generally recognized principle that no verdict should be reversed on appeal unless clearly contrary to justice.

By and large, Clark's views are today the accepted standards in many sections of the country. His real worth as a liberal and progressive, however, should be measured against the background of his times and his environment. Born, reared, and educated in North Carolina, an officer in the Confederate Army at the age of fourteen, the eldest son of a wealthy slave owner, the Chief Justice was wholly a product of the South. Even today, many of his objectives are yet to be attained in his conservative South, and in other sections as well. This book should convince many Southerners that liberalism is not a Yankee importation. The author, who heads one of the leading law firms of the South, was a close friend of the Chief Justice, and has written a sympathetic biography of this great liberal, whose views he apparently shares. Add to this the publication of the book by a Southern university, and we see the existence of important elements of progressive thought in the South which are prepared to carry on the crusades of Chief Justice Clark.

GEORGE L. SIEGEL

Black Boy, by Richard Wright. Harper & Bros. 228 pp. \$2.50.

Whether entirely autobiographical or partly fictional, Richard Wright in *Black Boy* has given us all something about which to think. Published at a time when millions of young men are engaged in a conflict to stabilize human values and to put real meaning into the word "democracy," it throws a challenge at all who have the power to think and reflect. With thousands of young men laying down their lives so that those who continue to live may live on a more common and decent basis, it hurls a challenge at those who would call themselves superior because of race or creed.

Delving deep into his childhood days, he tells of the gnawing pangs of hunger which he suffered constantly because there was little more than a loaf of bread and a pot of tea for him and his brother as his mother went off to work for white people who had more than they needed. Watching white people eat, he tells us, would make his empty stomach churn as he would ask himself why could he not eat when he was hungry—why did some

people have enough food when others did not.

He bares his heart and lays it open to public exposure—he gives us an insight into the thinking and actions of Negroes which explains to many of us much about their actions and reactions at which heretofore we might only have guessed. He tells us of the unconscious irony of those who have held that Negroes lead so passionate an existence, and informs us that what has been taken for their emotional strength was really their negative confusion, their flights, their fears, and their frenzy when under pressure.

One is touched by a feeling of guilt as he reads the indictment which Wright hurls at the Whites. He charges that the essential bleakness of black life in America is due to the fact that Negroes have never been allowed to catch the full spirit of western civilization and tells us that they are left somehow in it, but not of it. His frankness is at times both refreshing and depressing. At the age of 10, he tells us the touchstone of fraternity among his associates was his feeling toward white people and of the hostility he held toward them—what degrees of value and honor he assigned to race. None of this, he tells us, was premeditated but sprang spontaneously out of the talk of black boys whom he met at the crossroads and, while still comparatively a child, a dread of white people came to live permanently in his feelings and imagination.

While all of his experiences, as related in the book, have taken place in the South and his bitterness is directed chiefly against Southerners, there is still much for those above the Mason-Dixon Line to learn about the brotherhood of man and the spirit of democratic institutions. Richard Wright has given us all food for thought. As for myself, I have personally found the answer in this book to many of the questions which I have been asking myself these past ten years. My own observations through ten years of court work are borne out by the statistical records which indicate that proportionately we find more Negro boys in conflict with the law than White boys. Some of the reasons for this situation have been known to all of us—inadequate housing facilities and unequal educational and employment opportunities have long been known to be important factors in this respect, but Wright gives one reason for

so much stealing among especially Southern Negroes which is rather new and intriguing. He tells us that Southern Whites would rather have had Negroes who stole work for them than Negroes who knew, however dimly, the worth of their own humanity. He concludes that Whites place a premium on Black deceit and encourage their irresponsibility; and their rewards were bestowed upon the Blacks in the degree that they could make the Whites feel safe and superior. He tells us that the very nature of Black and White relations in the South has bred thievery. For the Negroes to have organized and petitioned their white employers for higher wages would be impossible and would have resulted in quick retaliation, and with swift brutality, and so he tells us that pretending to conform to the laws of the Whites, the Negroes let their fingers stick to what they could touch, and that the Whites seemed to like it because it helped them maintain their elevated positions.

Mr. Wright terminates his story just as he leaves the South to take up his home in the North. I am sure that all who read *Black Boy* will look forward to the day when a companion volume entitled *Black Man* issues from the pen of this forceful writer which will take up the story where it is now left off.

J. M. BRAUDE

Consider the Years, by Joshua Trachtenberg. Easton, Pa. Centennial Committee of Temple Brith Sholom. 327 pp. \$2.00.

Dr. Joshua Trachtenberg, the author of *Consider The Years*, a comprehensive account of a hundred and ninety years of the Jewish Community of Easton, Pennsylvania, stated correctly in the Preface to his book, that "American Jewish history has hardly as yet become the subject of serious study and investigation." In less than a decade, we are going to celebrate the Tercentenary of the Jewish Community in North America. Unless some ambitious historian decides to write an authoritative and comprehensive history of the Jews in America, in the interim, we will find ourselves at that time without any account of three hundred years of Jewish history, in what is now the largest Jewish Community in the world. The beginnings of a good complete history of American Jewry are the serious studies of individual Jewish communities

of which only a comparatively few have thus far appeared. One of these is the book we are reviewing.

There are but a few Congregations in the United States, which date back to the early part of the eighteenth century. Yet, records reveal that a number of Jews were scattered throughout the colonies before, during, and immediately after the American Revolution. But not everywhere did they leave their imprints on the sands of time. In many instances the early Jewish pioneers cast only a shadow of their struggling existence in Colonial days, and volumes of early records have to be unearthed to find a reference to "a Jew shop-keeper," or to a "Nathan the Jew." For, unless one figured in some litigation in the Courts—and the Jews, as a rule, did not—we are not very likely to find the name and activities of a person in early American history, except on tax lists. And these tell only part of the story. Dr. Trachtenberg is therefore to be commended for his painstaking, but successful efforts in gathering from the scant records and references of early American days, sufficient material to give us a historic, well documented, and complete picture of the evolution of the Easton Jewish Community, which begins in 1752. Of the "eleven families that had ventured to transform a plan into a place of habitation," in that year, one was Jewish. It was that of Myer Hart, Shop-keeper."

Though Colonial Jewry was predominantly Sephardic in origin, emanating originally from Spain or Portugal, the greater number of the Easton Jewish residents in the eighteenth century were Ashkenazic. This may be because of the proximity of Easton to Philadelphia, where most of the members of the Jewish Community were of Ashkenazic origin.

As in the other communities, the Jews of Easton engaged primarily in trade, "though some of them embarked also upon other ventures, tavern-keeping, milling, etc." Out of the seven stores, in 1780, five were operated by Jews. One gets a thrill in reading that amidst the "bewildering mass of hieroglyphics," that constituted the signature to the Oath of Allegiance, taken by the many and various residents of Easton to their newly formed sovereign United States of America, the author discovered one in Hebrew, reading "Moshes b'rab Natan."

The Jews of Easton acquired "a Bury-

ing place for such Hebrews or Jews as now do or hereafter may reside in the said Borough of Easton and its Vicinity," on March 25, 1800. But they did not form a Congregation until 1839, in that year the "Congregation Brith Sholom" was organized. In 1842, the Congregation was chartered, and in the same year they consecrated their synagogue, which is still standing and in use. It is rather curious that Judah Touro, who in his will bequeathed large sums of money to many Congregations of the middle of the nineteenth century, and also to a number of Jewish institutions in Philadelphia, failed to remember the Congregation in Easton.

Though, by 1839, the Reformed movement had begun in the United States, the Easton Congregation was traditional until 1870, when under the influence of Isaac M. Wise, the "Minhag America" was introduced. The change was not without struggle.

The author traces the growth of the city together with the Jewish Community, and presents a comprehensive picture of it with equal exactness when we are approaching our own era. With the coming of Eastern European Jews, toward the end of the nineteenth century, the "Congregation Bnai Abraham" was organized in 1890. This Congregation, having consecrated its synagogue, in 1909, changed later on from its original strict orthodoxy, to the more modern "Conservative." The author does not neglect also to give adequate accounts of the founding of Y. M. and Y. W. H. A., and the more recent organizations Hadassah, Jr. Hadassah, Jewish War Veterans, and the Jewish Community Council. The Community had its "Chevra Gemilas Chesed," its "Kranken and Leichen Wache Verein," its "Mendelsohn Verein," and its early B'nai B'rith Lodge founded in 1856, typical of all Jewish Communities in the middle of the century.

The Appendices to the text constitute a considerable accumulation of historic documents and source material. The notes at the end of the book are evidence of a great deal of work and research, the author put in to produce the volume.

I was regretfully surprised at, and greatly missed, the absence of an index to the contents of the book. Otherwise it is a book well written, well worth reading, and to be emulated by other authors of other Jewish Communities.

M. A. GUTSTEIN

Jews In The Post-War World, by Max Gottschalk and Abraham G. Duker. Dryden Press. 224 pp. \$3.00.

It is the authors' thesis and finding, after a lengthy and an able analysis of the plight of world Jewry and a re-examination of the Jew's position on the eve of an Allied victory that:

"The requisites of survival are therefore twofold: first of all, a democratic structure of society must be assured; and second, there must be, within the Jewish communities themselves, the will to survive through the sustaining power of Jewishness."

No people on earth possess, according to the authors, a richer and a more bitter fund of experiences than the Jews may claim in plotting for an uncertain tomorrow. No century has passed and there is no corner on the globe when and where they have not been cruelly dealt with. Long before the Crusades, throughout the Dark Ages, and until the Napoleonic era with its aftermath of century long infamous Tzarist oppression, the respite from persecution has been brief, at long intervals and but in a few places. The fruits of victory after 1914, a war "to make the world safe for democracy" were for the Jews a bitter mockery. The League of Nations failed to incorporate into an organic law the protection of minorities and left it to the several newly created states to protect the Jews. After some lip service to the precepts of the League, "democratic" Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, and the ever medieval Rumania engineered pogroms. Nazi Germany led the way; Mussolini aped the paper hanger; Great Britain was looking after her imperialistic interests and bothered little with the enforcement of the League's decrees in general and the Jewish problem not at all. Deliberately, she was trying to emasculate the Balfour Declaration in order to placate and to serve the Arab Chieftains in the Middle East. The United States, not a party to the League of Nations could, but occasionally—and ineffectually—raise a voice of indignation at the treatment of Jewry.

In the post-war world, the authors assert, after the Nazi butchery of four million Jews there will remain in Europe, roughly about six million Jews; these mostly in Russia. Over a million of those escaped from Poland into the Soviet Union. The future of these Jews in Russia is secure from pogroms but whether

the Jews will be able to assert themselves as such, maintain their traditions, practice their religion, and migrate should they choose so to do after the war, is problematical.

There will remain, it is hoped, in Europe other than Russia, counting those in England, Palestine, France, Switzerland, Sweden and what are left in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia and the Balkan countries, about two million Jews. These may survive as human beings only if a post-war world sets and compels a pattern of civilized behavior among all nations. This means a League of Nations fashioned after Dumbarton Oaks.

Nothing else will do. The Jew after an Allied Victory will doubtless find himself unwelcome in the countries of his birth, his property stolen or destroyed, and in many places there will be neighbors on whose hands the blood of murdered Jews has not yet dried. Hitlerism will not die overnight.

The authors examine dozens of places of refuge offered the Jew by England, France, Poland, and Latin America. None compare, in their telling, with a future that looms so brightly and warmly in Palestine. I recall reading few accounts of the Palestine achievement done in as competent a manner as that of Messrs. Gottschalk and Duker. Theirs is truly an exhaustive report. England could alleviate and nearly solve the Jewish problem of post-war adjustment if—it will actually live up to the Balfour Declaration, cease playing politics with the Arabs, and permit the immigration into Palestine of some hundreds of thousands of Jews.

The basic tenets of the authors' thesis are nevertheless unmistakably clear—with the exception of the United States and the Soviet Union and—generally speaking, the premise applies to these countries also—the survival of the Jew is predicated upon the persistence of the democratic processes of life. No expectation of security may be entertained by the Jew, no hope of dignified self assertion until there is guaranteed to all humanity a civilized state of being; all this, of course, may be applied to all minorities but it is almost banal to reiterate that it is especially true of the Jewish people. The authors of *The Jews in the Post-War World* present this fact with brilliant clarity; in so doing they have performed a real public service.

BENJAMIN WEINTROUB

Caesar and Christ, by Will Durant. Simon and Schuster, New York. 768 pages. \$5.00.

If, as someone put it, the past is only the present become invisible and mute, Dr. Durant has so far succeeded beautifully in rendering it visible and vocal, judging by the three volumes of his *Story of Civilization* already published. He himself considers the study of history worthless, unless it be made "living drama" or to "illuminate our contemporary life." For that gigantic task a strong poetic talent is no less required than an encyclopedic knowledge. Any believer in analytic history, and dry Fachgelehrte would have refused to undertake, single-handed, the superhuman job of telling, in one volume, the most intriguing chapter of mankind's story, from the arrival of the Etruscans in Italy, about 800 B. C., to the death of Emperor Constantine in 337 A. D. He would have felt like one assigned to empty the ocean with a spoon!

Durant frankly admits that "the weakness of the synthetic method lies in the impossibility of one mind speaking with first-hand knowledge on every aspect of a complex civilization spanning a thousand years." Nevertheless a few inevitable inaccuracies or errors cannot mar the thrilling drama of Sophoclean vigor he has presented us with, the stupendously described conflict between the man of the sword and the preacher of love, the never-aging dichotomy: Caesar-Christ. Everything seems to serve as a prelude to the world-shaking day of Golgotha, the climax of the story. We hear about the strange civilization of the Etruscans—this reviewer who happens to have heard the greatest authority on that subject, Professor Emil Goldmann of Vienna, regrets that too little space was given by the author to their tale—the foundation of Rome, the struggle with Carthage, the Greek conquest, Caesarism's rise and decline. We are indebted to the author for telling the layman that Carthage offered more to the world than Hannibal's daring campaign with elephants, that Aristotle was right when he considered its civilization "in many respects superior to all others." Incidentally, the Carthaginians were Semites," akin in blood and features to the ancient Jews." Even their language occasionally struck a Hebrew note.

As for the Eternal City, each face is described in a separate chapter. Its republicans, conspirators, emperors, jurists, bankers, artists, traders, gamblers, blue-stockings, whores, criminals—they all turn up in this unforgettable pageant of a millenium. Rome, we learn, had its labor unions, dole system, bank failures, WPA projects, OPA regulations, State Socialism, pressure groups, and other phenomena that look familiar to us, but the author does not conceal that he is more interested in Roman philosophy, literature, and art, than in social and economic developments. About Roman art he says aptly: "Roman architecture became the art expression of the Roman Church and State: Boldness, organization, grandeur and brutal strength raised these unparalleled structures upon the hill. They were the Roman soul in stone."

The man who embodied all virtues and vices of Rome, "one of the ablest, bravest, fairest and most gifted men in all the sorry annals of politics," the "most complete man that antiquity produced" was Julius Caesar. Durant warns us not to judge him rashly: "We must think of Caesar as at first an unscrupulous politician and a reckless rake, slowly transformed by growth and responsibility into one of history's most profound and conscientious statesmen. We must not forget, as we rejoice at his faults, that he was a great man notwithstanding. We cannot equate ourselves with Caesar by proving that he seduced women, bribed ward leaders, and wrote books."

The opponent of Caesarism was a simple Palestinian Jew, Yeshuah of Nazareth, whose historicity no longer can be doubted. Dr. Durant is happily unbiased—different from other historians, like H. G. Wells—when he speaks about the Jews. He stresses the fact that in the days of Jesus the majority were farmers. About the long-drawn Jewish war against Rome he states: "No people in history has fought so tenaciously for liberty as the Jews, nor any people against such odds." While the term "Pharisee" is now being used to denote a self-righteous person or a hypocrite, Durant defends the group: "Very likely a large number of the sect were sincere men, reasonably decent and honorable, who felt that the ceremonial laws neglected by Jesus should be judged not in themselves, but as part of a code that served to hold the Jews together, in pride and decency,

amid a hostile world." Though a Christian himself, Durant sincerely admits that there was nothing new in Jesus' teachings, nothing that had not been told in the Scripture before. He also asserts, significantly, that crucifixion was a Roman, not Jewish, form of punishment. As for Paul, he remained, despite his initiation into Hellenism, "to the end a Jew in mind and character, uttered no doubt of the Thora's inspiration, and proudly maintained the divine election of the Jews as the medium of man's salvation."

Dr. Durant is a marvellous narrator. Beautifully he retells the story of the God-intoxicated carpenter's son that starts in a stable at Bethlehem, one of the sweetest tales man ever heard, as well as the genesis of the church as a power, and not necessarily a power of good. We witness the decline and ruin of Rome, and more than once we feel like exclaiming, deplorably: "Stop!"—for Rome, notwithstanding the many blunders she committed, was as much a fountain of civilization as is the British Empire in our days. Durant does not agree with those holding that Christianity was the chief cause of Rome's fall: "The growth of Christianity was more an effect than a cause of Rome's decay." Nor was it destroyed by the barbarian invaders: "A great civilization is not conquered from without until it has destroyed itself within. The essential causes of Rome's decline lay in her people, her morals, her class struggle, her failing trade, her bureaucratic despotism, her stifling taxes, her consuming wars."

But perhaps it is not correct to talk of the "fall" of Rome. In a sense, the Rome of antiquity never died. She lives through the power of her language ("half the white man's world speaks a Latin tongue") and through her achievements in practically all branches of human enterprise: "Our Roman heritage works in our lives a thousand times a day."

Like the preceding volumes of *The Story of Civilization*, part I, *Our Oriental Heritage*, and part II, *The Life of Greece*, this book is furnished with many illustrations and maps. We are looking forward to the two concluding volumes. Wittily written and based on thorough research, the five volumes should go to every educated layman's home. The concluded set will be a lasting contribution to democracy.

ALFRED WERNER

Chaim Weizmann, edited by Meyer Weisgal. Dial Press. 340 pp. \$3.50.

Dr. Weizmann at seventy achieved a position in Jewish life which no other modern Jewish statesman has attained. Herzl, who probably was the greatest political genius the Jewish people has ever produced, died a bitter and a disappointed man. With the rejection of the Uganda plan came violent and often vile personal attacks. To be sure Weizmann also gets his share of attacks and criticism but his recent tour of Palestine should have convinced even the most cynical critics of the unique position that he occupies in Jewish life to-day.

The fact that Dr. Weizmann was given a royal welcome in Mishmar Haemek, a colony of the leftist Hashomer Hatzir, in Tirat Zvi of the orthodox Hapoel Hamizrachi, and in the middle-class Tel-Aviv shows conclusively that his leadership is not questioned even by his most vociferous critics. The Chaim Weizmann anthology prepared by Meyer Weisgal should give the careful reader a thorough understanding of the amazing influence exercised by Dr. Weizmann. The editor has done well to include in the book Weizmann's statement before the Palestine Royal Commission of 1936. Dr. Weizmann's exposition of Zionism, its relationship to the British and the Arabs, is original, brilliant, and exceedingly moving. Lord Peel, the chairman of the Commission later testified that the members of his committee were deeply moved by Weizmann's speech. The reader will look in vain for any flowery oratory or emotional appeal—the statement is dignified, restrained, but utterly convincing.

After giving the members of the Commission a clear picture of the hopeless position that the young Jews in Eastern Europe find themselves in, because of economic and social discrimination, Dr. Weizmann points out with pride the achievements in the colonization efforts in Palestine. As to the Balfour Declaration Weizmann, shattered the legend circulated so often by the foes of Zionism that the Balfour Declaration was a war-time expedient. Recalling the fact that the British Cabinet discussed the document for a few months and that the final wording of the declaration was the result of a compromise, Dr. Weizmann stated that the Balfour Declaration was "an act well-considered . . . and a contribution

toward a very thorny question." "It is putting it very low if one says that this act, this step, was made or taken by His Majesty's Government in order to secure the sympathies of the rich Jews in America and of England too . . . it will interest the Commission to learn," continued Weizmann, "that the rich Jews, or what are called the rich Jews, were at that time in an overwhelming majority definitely opposed to the Balfour Declaration."

A group of distinguished admirers of Weizmann have contributed to this well edited book. Felix Frankfurter who wrote the foreword pays tribute to a great Jewish leader who, equally rooted in East European culture and Western science, proved to the world that not only may East and West meet; may even become fused in a single person. This perfect blending of the Eastern background and Western education is strangely enough stressed with equal enthusiasm by those who like Maurice Samuel and Jacob Fishman find the great professor and statesman a thoroughly 'folksy' and democratic man who likes to tell a good Yiddish joke, and by those who like Sir Norman Angell and Blanche Dugdale frankly admire the Eastern Jew who acquired the typically British restraint and the gift for understatement so admired by the British.

The calm dignity of Weizmann and the ease with which he influences the people who come in contact with him is best expressed by Dorothy Thompson and S. N. Behrman. Mr. Behrman in a powerfully and brilliantly written story *Zion Comes to Culver City* provides at least a partial answer to the question which was asked by many who wondered about the source of Weizmann's influence.

The section on "Weizmann the Scientist" will be revealing and informative even to those who have followed Weizmann's career very closely. It is the first comprehensive appraisal of his scientific contributions. The reader who wonders how the great statesman found the time for his scientific research will discover the answer in these memoirs. MARK KRUG

Legal Control of the Press, by Frank Thayer. The Foundation Press, Inc., Chicago. 608 pp. \$4.50.

A note on the title page tells us that this book concerns those potential or actual controls that affect the press, and

in particular libel, privacy, contempt, copyright, regulation of advertising, and postal laws. I regard this detail as symbolical of the changed conception of the liberty of the press. There was a time when publishers and editors thought only in terms of actual suppression or severe licensing laws when they referred to violation of their freedom. Now they consider any hint or suggestion that they are not a privileged class as a violation of their fundamental rights.

The effort to end child labor—to cite only one glaring example—is regarded in some quarters as an affront to the press. Not all publishers go as far as Colonel Robert R. McCormick in declaring that anything which cuts down the profits of a newspaper is a violation of the freedom of the press; but his dictum is only the extreme expression of prevailing attitude.

It is within this context that Professor Thayer's book is to be considered. His book is built upon a foundation of scholarship. It has the manner of a textbook. But its underlying philosophy is that the press is something apart from all other business enterprises.

It is almost too late to argue whether this should be so. For freedom is in the air—whether the air is polluted or clean. Some may want the sins of certain newspapers to be cured, or at least curbed, by law. But most people are for freedom, wherever it leads. Legal controls are being relaxed. "Don't fence me in!" That is the popular outcry.

It is well, therefore, to have a book like this. Despite the effort that it sometimes imposes upon the ordinary lay reader, it should be read by a wide audience. We should think in detail, and not merely in generalities, as to what freedom of the press means. Professor Thayer digests the more significant cases; he summarizes the prevailing law; he indicates tendencies. He gives the factual and legal background for an understanding of what is still the greatest single force for influencing public opinion and action in a democracy.

Here and there the author is too technical; more often he is too terse, for the ordinary reader. But in general, the book is seldom above the heads of those who have not gone to law school. It will help all students of public affairs to grasp the true meaning of that magical phrase, the freedom of the press.

ELMER GERTZ

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INDEX TO VOLUME III (1944-1945)

All contributions below are articles except those followed by

F—Fiction P—Poetry A—Art R—Review

APPLEBAUM, HAROLD: The Rabbi. P.	122
ARENDT, HANNAH: Our Foreign Language Groups	25
BAMBERGER, FRITZ: <i>Diagnosis of Our Time</i> , by Karl Mannheim. R.	137
BEKKER, DAVID: Visit of the Prophet Eliah. A.	204
BOBRINSKOY, G. V.: <i>Indian Crisis</i> , by John S. Hoyland. R.	80
— <i>India Against the Storm</i> , by Post Wheeler. R.	80
— <i>Russia and the Peace</i> , by Bernard Pares. R.	148
BRAUDE, J. M.: <i>Black Boy</i> , by Richard Wright. R.	288
BROWN, BERNARD J.: <i>The Jew in Our Day</i> , by Waldo Frank. R.	138
CAHNMAN, WERNER J.: An American Dilemma	92
— <i>Group Relations and Group Antagonisms</i> , addresses and discussions edited by R. M. MacIver. R.	151
— <i>The Jewish Refugee</i> , by Arie Tartakower and Kurt R. Grossmann. R.	280
— <i>Racial State</i> , by Gerhard Jacoby. R.	282
EHRMANN, E. L.: <i>Vilna</i> , by Israel Cohen. R.	286
EISENSCHIML, OTTO: <i>George Fitzhugh</i> , by Harvey Wish. R.	75
— <i>Must Men Hate?</i> by Sigmund Livingston. R.	280
FLACKS, REUBEN S.: <i>The Forgotten Ally</i> , by Pierre Van Paassen. R.	73
FLAMM, IRVING, H.: Hayek and the Reactionaries.	243
FRANK, MURRAY: America and the Refugee Problem	35
— UNRRA—and Jewish Reconstruction.	168
— <i>The Control of Germany and Japan</i> , by Harold G. Moulton and Louis Marlio. R.	224
— Washington Notes	274
FREEDMAN, REUBEN: <i>Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time</i> , by Howard J. Laski. R.	76
FRIEDLANDER, ISAC: Lest We Forget. A.	24
— Cornered. A.	65
GERTZ, ELMER: <i>The Time for Decision</i> , by Sumner Welles. R.	72
— A Bizarre Fellowship.	97
— <i>An American Program</i> , by Wendell L. Willkie. R.	282
— <i>Legal Control of the Press</i> , by Frank Thayer. R.	294
GOLDBERG, NATHAN: Decline of the Yiddish Press	15
GOVERMAN, LORRAINE: Home is the Sailor, Home. F.	22
GRABO, CARL: Summer Cottage. P.	42
— <i>Behold the Jew</i> , by Ada Jackson. R.	70
— <i>The Growth of American Thought</i> , by Merle Curti. R.	83
— <i>The Four Fears</i> , by Elbert D. Thomas. R.	144
— Bird in Exile. P.	190
— <i>In Praise of Wisdom</i> , by Jacob Klatzkin. R.	210
— <i>Fighting Liberal: The Autobiography of George W. Norris</i> . R.	279
GRAEBER, ISACQUE: Palestine and Power Politics	104
GROSSMAN, KURT R.: The Nazis and the Right of Asylum.	85
GURMAN, SAMUEL P.: <i>Our Heritage</i> , by Sol Bloom. R.	71
— <i>The First Round</i> , by Joseph Gaer. R.	223
GUTSTEIN, M. A.: <i>Consider the Years</i> , by Joshua Trachtenberg. R.	289
HINDUS, MILTON: Céline—Fascist.	163
HOUSE, ROY TEMPLE: He Remembered That They Were But Flesh	187
JELENSKO, EDWARD W.: <i>Christ Is Losing His World</i> , by Lon Francis. R.	212
JONES, O. GARFIELD: <i>American Political Parties: Their Natural History</i> , by Wilfred Binkley. R.	141
KLEIN, A. M.: Autobiographical. P.	102
— A Psalm Touching Genealogy. P.	162
KORNBLAU, KATHERINE: Make Thy Face Clear Before Mine Eyes. F.	111
KRESSENSKY, RAYMOND: Return to Egypt. P.	59
KRIESBERG, IRVING: Historic Peoples. A.	110
— Landless Peoples. A.	131

KRUG, MARK: <i>Turkey: Key to the East</i> , by Chester M. Tobin. R.	143
—A Jewish-Arab Rapprochement Is Not Impossible.	247
—Chaim Weizmann, edited by Meyer Weisgal. R.	293
LANCASTER, RUTH E.: <i>To One Corresponding</i> . P.	246
LATIMER, IRA: <i>Our Civil Liberties</i> , by Osmond Fraenkel. R.	78
— <i>Freedom Is More Than A Word</i> , by Marshall Field. R.	285
LAWRENCE, SAMUEL: <i>A Century of Jewish Life</i> , by Ismar Elbogen. R.	68
LERNER, LEO A.: <i>November 7—A Challenge to America</i> .	1
LETSCHINSKY, JACOB: <i>Death of Polish Jewry</i> .	153
MAC DOUGALL, CURTIS D.: <i>Foreign Influence In American Life</i> , edited by D. Bowers. R.	283
MAYNE, W. G.: <i>Juda the Maccabee</i> . F.	174
MINKIN, JACOB S.: <i>Joseph Albo: Thinker and Prophet</i> .	123
— <i>The Jewish Book</i> .	180
OSBORN, MAX: <i>Immigrant Jewish Artists</i> .	191
ROHRICH, GEORGE F.: <i>Peace in Our Time?</i> .	43
— <i>How to Tell Progress from Reaction: Roads to Industrial Democracy</i> , by Manya Gordon. R.	216
ROSENBLUM, S. H.: <i>Medicine and War</i> , edited by William H. Taliaferro. R.	145
RUBY, LIONEL: <i>Faith, Reason and Civilization: An Essay in Historical Analysis</i> , by Harold J. Laski. R.	139
— <i>Germany and Europe</i> , by Benedetto Croce, translated by Vincent Sheean. R.	147
SALPETER, HARRY: <i>Proust and the Dreyfus Case</i> .	116
SCHWARTZ, ALLEN D.: <i>Heinrich Heine, "Germany, A Winter's Tale,"</i> translated by Herman Salinger. R.	219
SCHWARTZ, SELWYN S.: <i>A Note On Karl Shapiro</i> .	201
— <i>I Too Knew Him Well</i> . P.	234
SHAPIRO, LEO: <i>The Hitleriad</i> , by A. M. Klein. R.	218
— <i>Take Them, Stranger</i> , by Babette Deutsch. R.	218
SHARP, DOLPH: <i>Education On Lincoln Street</i> . F.	262
SIEGEL, GEORGE L.: <i>Walter Clark, Fighting Judge</i> , by Aubrey Lee Brooks. R.	287
SILVERZWEIG, DAVID F.: <i>Labor Lawyer</i> , by Louis Waldman. R.	284
SIMON, HOWARD: <i>Tomorrow</i> . A.	253
— <i>From Isaiah</i> . A.	278
SKLARE, MARSHALL: <i>Prejudice, Japanese-Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance</i> , by Carey McWilliams. R.	214
STEIN, LEON: <i>Jewish Music Today</i> .	254
VERO: <i>New York Notes</i> .	60
— <i>New York Notes</i> .	132
— <i>New York Notes</i> .	205
— <i>New York Notes</i> .	269
WEINSTEIN, JACOB J.: <i>Asch and Werfel—The Escape to Mysticism</i> .	230
WEINTROUB, BENJAMIN: <i>Editor's Comment</i> .	66
— <i>A Treasury of Great Russian Stories</i> , edited by Avram Yarmolinsky. R.	83
— <i>Phantom Victory</i> , by Ervin Lessner. R.	149
— <i>Were the Minorities Treaties a Failure?</i> edited by Jacob Robinson & others. R.	226
— <i>Jews In The Post-War World</i> , by Max Gottschalk and Abraham G. Duker. R.	291
WEISS-ROSMARIN, TRUDE: <i>Freedom from Want in Hebraic Tradition</i> .	52
WERNER, ALFRED: <i>Triumph of Treason</i> , by Pierre Cot. R.	79
— <i>Common Cause</i> , by G. A. Borgese. R.	82
— <i>Spain</i> , by Salvador de Madariaga. R.	142
— <i>In the Steps of Moses</i> , by Louis Golding. R.	149
— <i>Exiled Pilgrim</i> , by William Hubben. R.	220
— <i>The War Against God</i> , ed. by Carl Carmer. R.	220
— <i>German Education in the New World Order</i> .	235
— <i>Caesar and Christ</i> , by Will Durant. R.	292
WISH, HARVEY: <i>The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background</i> , by Hans Kohn. R.	136
— <i>A Post-War Failure</i> .	227
YOSHIOKA, BEN: <i>Democracy Evacuates a Minority</i> .	8

Ad. Rev. Rev.

...mer, 1891.